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BOOK XXVI

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ROBERT MITCHELL HENRY, M.A.

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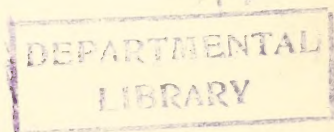
EDITED, WITH INTRODUCTION, NOTES AND
APPENDICES

BY

ROBERT MITCHELL HENRY, M.A.

FIRST CLASSICAL MASTER, ROYAL ACADEMICAL INSTITUTION, BELFAST

SOMETIME JUNIOR FELLOW, ROYAL UNIVERSITY OF IRELAND



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EDWARD ARNOLD

41 & 43 MADDOX STREET, BOND STREET, W.

PREFACE

THE present edition of the twenty-sixth book of Livy was undertaken primarily for the use of students in the Royal University of Ireland, and the fact that it aims at satisfying the needs of both Pass and Honours candidates will, it is hoped, be taken as a sufficient excuse for a certain inequality of standard in the notes.

The editions that have been used in the preparation of the commentary are those of Weissenborn, as revised by Müller, of Friedersdorff and of Riemann and Homolle. Riemann's *Études sur la Langue et la Grammaire de Tite-Live* and Kühnast's *Livianische Syntax* have been specially useful. Obligations to one or other of these have been incurred on every page: obligations to other authorities are noted in their respective places.

The Editor's special thanks are due to his friend and former teacher, Prof. T. W. Dougan, of Queen's College, Belfast, who not only found time, in the midst of many pressing engagements of his own, to read the book both in manuscript and in proof, but generously permitted the use of a number of his manuscript notes. Where these have been directly adopted in the following pages they are enclosed within square brackets and marked with Prof. Dougan's initials: but the Editor is conscious that they represent only a small part of the debt which the commentary owes to his kindness and learning.

BELFAST, May, 1905.

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INTRODUCTION

TITUS LIVIUS was born in 59, or according to another version 57, B.C., at Patavium, the modern Padua. The town was one of the oldest in Italy, and dated in the fond imaginations of its patriots from the days of Antenor, the companion of Aeneas in his flight from Troy¹. Whatever its origin, Patavium had an honourable history. During the storms of the Gallic invasions, this little corner of Italy alone kept the Gauls at bay², it beat off the Lacedaemonian marauder, Cleonymus³, and, when the Gauls were at last reduced to order by the Roman legions, returned to the pursuits of peace. During the long interval between those perilous times and the age of Livy we have only a glance at the history of the town—Rome was once invoked to save it from the effects of domestic sedition, and the presence of the consul was enough to quell the disturbance⁴. When the Civil Wars broke out in Livy's boyhood, Patavium took and kept the side of Cato and the vanquished. It shut out or expelled the messengers of Antonius; it aided the republican party with money, arms, and soldiers⁵; the very slaves could not be tempted or dragooned into yielding up their masters to Asinius Pollio⁶. Its inhabitants preserved into imperial times the ancient decorum and severity of morals that marked the best days of the old order. Their primitive puritanism provoked the sneers of Martial⁷ and the praise of the younger Pliny⁸; and on many a page of Livy we can read the lament of the puritan provincial contrasting the ancient sobriety and restraint of the older days, as he knew them at Patavium in his boyhood, with the newer licence and excess of the Capital in the days of his prime⁹.

Of Livy's family and training we know nothing but what is based upon conjecture. He praises his own town, but says nothing of his own family. That he received the last finish of a rhetorical training

¹ Liv. i. 1. 2.

² Liv. v. 33. 10.

³ Liv. x. 2. 12 sqq.

⁴ Liv. xli. 27. 3.

⁵ Cic. *Phil.* xii. 4. 10.

⁶ Macrob. *Sat.* i. 11.

⁷ Mart. xi. 16. 8.

⁸ Plin. *Epp.* i. 14. 6.

⁹ e.g. iv. 6. 12; vii. 40. 2; xxvi. 22. 14.

we can see from his style; and his reserved and aristocratic tone may be taken as evidence that he had been brought up amid the habitual restraint and *gravitas* of a Roman gentleman's household.

He settled in Rome probably about 30 B.C. He came there not to push his fortunes or rise to a position of influence¹, but to study in the imperial city for the history to which he was to devote his life. In literary composition he found relief from the sight of the political and social degeneration that had set in everywhere. At Rome, in the court of Augustus, at the table of the Emperor the old Pompeian was a Pompeian still. Augustus laughingly taunted him with his republican tendencies²; when, as his history progressed, he came to tell of the struggles of the expiring Republic he spoke with respect of Pompey and refused to brand as murderers the assassins of Caesar³; and yet he was so intimate with the members of the imperial house as to be allowed to influence the tastes of the future Emperor Claudius⁴. On the death of Augustus he returned to his native Patavium, where he died in 17 A.D.

His history of Rome was only part, though by far the greater part, of his literary activity. He wrote 'dialogues which,' says Seneca, 'one could reckon as history quite as much as philosophy,' besides books dealing professedly with philosophical subjects⁵. Quintilian quotes a letter he wrote to his son, a treatise on rhetoric for his use⁶; and his connexion with rhetoric is further shown by the marriage of his daughter to a rhetorician Magius whose only recommendation to posterity is that he was Livy's son-in-law. But his history was his life-work. It was written in 142 books. He began to write not before 27 B.C.⁷ He had got as far as the ninth book before 20 B.C. Before Augustus died he had published the part of his work dealing with the life of Pompey. These dates imply constant and regular writing over a period of forty years. The work was divided into books and published in sections. Books VI, XXI, and XXXI are furnished with their separate prefaces and therefore stood each at the beginning of a separate group of books. The whole work was entitled *Ab Urbe Condita libri CXLII*, but the separate parts had

¹ i. praef. § 5. ² Tac. *Ann.* iv. 34. ³ Tac. *Ibid.*, cf. Liv. ix. 17. 6.

⁴ Suet. *Claud.* 41. ⁵ Sen. *Epp.* 100. 9. ⁶ Quint. x. 1. 39.

⁷ See the evidence summarized in Middleton and Mills *Companion to Lat. Authors* p. 218 f.

their own special titles derived from the events they dealt with¹. The last event mentioned was the death of Drusus in B.C. 9. It has been supposed that Livy intended to bring the number of books up to 150 and finish with the death of Augustus. But unless he knew when Augustus would die and what would happen before he did it is not easy to see how he could form such a plan.

The success of his work was immediate and complete, and his fame extended over the world during his life. Pliny tells of a provincial from Gades who came to Rome simply to see Livy and having seen him went away content². For small libraries and busy men room and time were saved by the use of epitomes of his huge work³. It crushed out of existence at once all previous historians by its sheer weight and excellence. What they had said was to be found much better said in the pages of Livy⁴. But such an unwieldy bulk could hardly escape dislocation on the waters of time. Of the 142 books only thirty-five remain: namely books I-X and XXI-XLV, and even of these XLI and XLIII are incomplete. There are however summaries (*periochae*) extant of all the books with the exception of CXXXVI and CXXXVII.

In such an extensive work the critics, whether hostile or friendly, found ample materials for praise or blame. The ear of Asinius Pollio⁵, attuned to the harmonies of the urban idiom, detected a faint Patavinian dissonance in the style. Modern critics without his opportunities of forming a judgement have essayed to rival his penetration and have spent many an idle hour in attempts to produce the evidence for his verdict⁶. The Emperor Caligula, in a philological phase, was for expelling his works from all libraries on the grounds of his verbosity and carelessness⁷. Tacitus gives him the praise of combined eloquence and good faith⁸. Quintilian, whose word in these matters is law, says⁹: 'Herodotus would not object to be

¹ See Teuffel *Rom. Lit.* § 257. 11. (E.T.).

² Plin. *Epp.* ii. 3. 8. ³ Mart. xiv. 190.

⁴ Peter *Geschichtliche Litter. über die röm. Kaiserzeit* ii. 232.

⁵ Quint. viii. 1. 3.

⁶ Kühnast (*Livianische Syntax* p. 8) gives a list.

⁷ Suet. *Calig.* 34.

⁸ Tac. *Ann.* iv. 34: *Agri.* 10.

⁹ Quint. x. 1. 101 *neque indignetur sibi Herodotus aequari T. Livium, cum in narrando mirae iucunditatis clarissimique candoris tam in confonibus sapra quam enarrari potest eloquentem, ita quae dicantur omnia cum rebus tam personis*

classed with Livy, whose narrative is characterized by marvellous smoothness and absolute transparency of style, while in his speeches his eloquence is beyond expression: so excellently is every word adapted alike to the circumstances and the character of the speaker; while no historian has ever (to put it soberly) represented feeling more perfectly, especially feelings of the gentler type.' Elsewhere Quintilian in one of his happy, untranslatable phrases has summed up Livy's style in two words: *luctu ubertas*¹.

Livy was a stylist by nature and a historian by force of circumstances. His period of literary production comes at the beginning of the great silence that fell with the rise of the Empire upon the law courts and the forum. Oratory² was shut up in the schools where professors took generation after generation of pupils over trite and innocuous themes, or committed its burning periods to writing upon some academic and barren subject. The eloquence that in the forum had found its perfection in the shapely period that, winding in and out from clause to clause, assumed with every word a clearer meaning, the simplicity and perfection of civic oratory, were now no more. Their place is taken by a more involved and tortuous period, the leisurely production of men of ease for an audience with nothing to do but to listen. The simplicity of a less sophisticated age gave way to a smartness that aimed at violent contrasts and clever antitheses, delighting the ear and fatiguing the mind by their very brilliancy, or wit took refuge in obscure images and metaphors that had to be tracked and snared in the inmost recesses of the sentence. Quintilian quotes from Livy the story of a professor who found fault with his pupils for putting their meaning clearly, and kept saying *σκοτίσας, σκοτίσας*. His delight knew no bounds if a pupil succeeded in evolving a sentence in which even his practised penetration could discover no glimmer of sense in the thick darkness of words³. At the very beginning of all this came Livy. His history was written under the conditions that made it all possible. He was himself a close student of Demosthenes and Cicero⁴ and his

accomodata sunt: affectus quidem præcipueque eos qui sunt dulciores, ut parcissimè dicam, nemo historicorum commendavit magis.

¹ Quint. x. i. 32.

² On the rhetoric of the period see Peter op. cit. i. 4 ff. and the excellent remarks of H. Nettleship *Passages for Transl., Introd.* pp. 57-64.

³ Quint. viii. 2. 18. ⁴ *Id.* x. i. 39.

models kept him free from the faults which a similar environment was to produce in others in the long run. But there is for all that to be discerned in his style the first tint of the autumn. He stands at the head of the long decline which passed through Seneca and Tacitus (both stylists of the first rank and the last of that rank at Rome) down to the gorgeous mosaics of Apuleius.

Livy was the master of a periodic style that has never been rivalled, but his periods are not the periods of Cicero. His language is, so to speak, more self-conscious: he abounds in poetical turns and words which seem to be chosen, not because they express the meaning better, but because they are unusual and arresting. His period is longer and more involved than Cicero's: one cannot say that it is more artistic or more harmonious: but in Livy the art is not, as in Cicero, subordinate to the sense so much as an end pursued for its own sake and parallel to the meaning, and the divided allegiance does not always make for perspicuity. One grasps Cicero's meaning as soon as one reaches the last word in the sentence; another reading only makes one wonder if that particular meaning could possibly be expressed in any better way: but a repeated reading of Livy's sentences leaves one wondering how such a delicately balanced structure was built, and how long it took in the building: word answers to word and phrase to phrase: one pauses involuntarily to gather up the many concurrent or converging lines and cast a final glance at the proportions of the whole before proceeding. It is the style, not of the statesman and the Forum, but of the orator driven from the invigorating contests of the open air to the leisured practice of his art in the somewhat enervating ease of the *uita umbratilis*.

Yet with all this, sometimes too obtrusive, art Livy can write in a style of marvellous clearness and simplicity. His vocabulary is not so extensive as one might imagine when one remembers the vast field of the early literature which he laid under contribution. The same words and phrases recur, but so cunningly placed and fitted that we are never conscious of monotony: the word in its new setting seems, and to all intents is for the reader, a new word. Livy had mastered the art of varying his style. He can be even bald upon occasion, or again he can charm and almost bewilder us with some lengthened cadence moving majestically along his page: and before the reader

is wearied with the pompous procession he is again transported to a narrative written in a style conspicuously plain and unadorned.

The one fault which ancient critics could find with his style—apart from Pollio's *Pataunitas*—was its redundancy. Quintilian¹ quotes a rather extreme case: *legati non impetrata pace retro domum, unde uenerant, abierunt*. He does not often go so far as this, but he sometimes goes farther than perfect simplicity of style would allow².

It is in the speeches, however, scattered through his work, in the fashion set by Thucydides, and with less than Thucydides' pretensions to historical accuracy, that Livy's art is seen at its best. Here he is in his element, and his rhetorical talent has full sway. If one compares them with the speeches in Polybius or the collection rescued from the wreck of Sallust's history, one sees at a glance the immeasurable superiority of Livy. Not only are they splendid rhetoric, but an attempt is always made to give, in technical rhetorical phraseology, ἡθος to the composition. How well, for instance, is Scipio's character sketched in a few slight strokes in the speech he delivers to his soldiers before they start for New Carthage³, and again with consummate skill in the short speech to Aluccius after the capture of the town⁴; we see Scipio's whole character bared before us *uotiuu ueluti descripta tabella*. The self-consciousness, the lofty airs and self-approving virtue, the genuine kindness and *bonhomie* of the youthful patrician, too kindly to be a prig, and too young to know how near he comes to being one, combine to form a charming and natural figure in Livy's gallery of Roman imperators.

For many of the details of Livy's syntax and vocabulary the reader must be referred to the notes: but a short summary will not be out of place here.

Livy's vocabulary is largely coloured by words drawn from the poets, particularly Vergil and the earlier poets whom Vergil imitated⁵, as well as from the more familiar vocabulary of comedy and everyday life⁶. He is fond of using the plural for the singular after the

¹ Quint. viii. 3. 53. The technical term with the rhetoricians was *μακρολογία*.

² For examples see the Index to the notes s.v. Redundancy.

³ c. 41. 3-25.

⁴ c. 50. 4-8.

⁵ See the Index s.v. Poetical words and phrases.

⁶ Riemann classes the following words and constructions used in the

fashion of the poets, and the collective singular for the plural¹. He uses words and forms of words that in Cicero's time were counted obsolete or solecisms². In many cases no doubt this was the affectation of the rhetorician, but in many it was undoubtedly an effort to break free from the more or less artificial dialect of pure Ciceronianism, and it marks a genuine progress and expansion of literary Latin. The comparative poverty of Latin in abstract expressions was obviated by a widely extended use of the gerundive and the perfect participle. The participle in *-urus*, which in Cicero is rarely used except in conjunction with the verb 'to be,' becomes a true future participle in Livy³: the perfect participle is frequently used in the neuter both in the singular and the plural as an abstract noun: while the use of the participle in *-bundus* amounts to a mannerism. In the use of the tenses of the subjunctive in *Oratio Obliqua*, Livy seems often to vary arbitrarily from Primary to Secondary Sequence: but there can be no doubt that at least in many cases the variation was deliberate, and an attempt to express more fully in Oblique narration the differences between the tenses of the *Oratio Recta*⁴.

But there was still another factor at work in determining Livy's style and method. Not only had his rhetorical genius to spend its energies in written composition instead of oral discourse, but the very traditions of the subject he chose called for a rhetorical treatment. Among the Greeks, the rhetorician in history had been the *damnosa hereditas* of the school of Isocrates⁵. Ephorus and Theopompus⁶ thought more of polishing their periods than of

26th book under this head: the employment of frequentatives in place of the simple verb (e.g. *noscitare* c. 41. 24): dat. and abl. of pron. of 3rd Decl. ending in *-is* (*aliquis*, c. 15. 3: 49. 6; *quis* c. 15. 4): *fortuna* in place of *fortunae* = 'riches' (c. 30. 10): *aeque quam* for *aeque ac* (c. 45. 2): the use of *ab* (*a*) before the name of a town (*passim*): *ad* instead of *in* (e.g. *ad aedem* c. 21. 1): *super* with abl. = *de* (c. 15. 5): the use of the 2nd pers. pres. subj. in place of the imperative (e.g. *sis* c. 50. 7): *non dubitare* with the infinitive (c. 15. 5; 27. 5): *nisi si* for *si* (c. 3. 3): *quippe qui* with the indic. (c. 41. 8).

¹ See the Index: 'Plural for Singular' and 'Singular for Plural.'

² e.g. *tempestas* for *tempus* (c. 11. 8): *indipisci* for *adipisci* (c. 39. 12): *praetor* for *imperator* (c. 24. 7): *pluisse* for *pluisse* (c. 23. 5).

³ Riemann, 303: Kühnast, 267.

⁴ See Appendix II to Prof. Conway's edition of Book II.

⁵ Jebb, *Attic Orators* ii. 429: Cic. *de Or.* ii. 12. 54: 13. 57.

⁶ Polyb. xii. 25 g.

verifying their facts: and rhetoric pure and simple found a field for its untrammelled exercise in the speeches with which on the authority of Herodotus and Thucydides they interlarded their histories. Polybius complains bitterly of the inaccuracy of his predecessors who thought less and less of facts and more and more of style¹.

Such a reproach could not be urged at first against the Roman annalists, who, however guilty they were of lapses in their historical accuracy, were certainly entirely guiltless of possessing a style. Cicero dwells on their dryness, their intolerable dullness, again and again². Coelius Antipater was the first who had any pretensions to writing an artistic history³. Under Greek influence, and thanks, no doubt, in great measure to Cicero's persistent advocacy of the claims of 'art' in history, the Roman historians at last chose the broad path. They polished their style more and more, they imitated the mannerisms of this and that Greek historian. Sallust, for instance, took Thucydides for his model. Had he imitated Thucydides in everything, the result had been different; but he almost seemed to think that an array of *sententiae*, abrupt transitions, and polished speeches inserted at the proper intervals were the root of the matter: of 'pragmatic' history, as Polybius called it, he seems to have had little idea. What this 'rhetorical' history came to in the end has been told with learning and brilliancy by Hermann Peter⁴. It came to be the fashion for the historian to hold himself far above mere vulgar details, to avoid committing himself to definite numbers, to be as loose as possible in reference to dates, even to withhold the names of persons and places essential to the proper understanding of the narrative, or to refer to them by some vague rhetorical periphrasis. Each writer, as he copied, at the same time embellished, his original: and we can trace through successive historians the succeeding stages of exaggeration till what was a comparatively

¹ Polyb. xii. 25 a et sqq.: 26 f. of Timaeus, τὸ πραγματικὸν αὐτῷ μέρος τῆς ἱστορίας ἐκ πάντων σύγκειται τῶν ἀμαρτημάτων ὧν τὰ πλείστα διεληλύθαμεν: iii. 20. 5 (Chaereas and Sosilius are writers) οὐ . . ἱστορίας ἀλλὰ κουρεακῆς καὶ πανδήμου λαλιᾶς.

² e. g. de Legg., i. 2. 6 sq. quid tam exile quam isti omnes: de Or. ii. 12. 52 sqq. sine ullis ornamentis monumenta solum temporum . . . reliquerunt.

³ de Or. ii. 12. 54 addidit maiorem historiae sonum.

⁴ Geschichtl. Litter. ii. pp. 179 sqq.

modest story at the beginning parades itself, in some later writer, in all the borrowed plumage of rhetoric ¹.

With the enormous development of rhetorical training and the increased importance of the schools of rhetoric the conception of the aim of the historian's art had deteriorated. History was looked upon as a useful study for a statesman and, above all, an inexhaustible mine for an orator. Boys learnt rhetoric by delivering speeches upon some famous historical scene, or illustrated some vice or virtue by examples drawn from Greek or Roman history or historical romance. This was true not merely of a later age: Cicero insists in more than one passage upon history as, after all, subordinate to the rhetorician's art, or classes it with mythology as a useful storehouse of examples ².

Of all this we find the traces in Livy: but to do him justice he is far superior to his predecessors and followers. With a better style than the former he has at least an equal, if not a greater, love of truth, and if not always successful in steering clear of the shoals and quicksands of error he has at least a knowledge that they abound and a fairly accurate idea of where they are to be met. He is aware of the exaggerations of family annals and funeral orations³: he has learned to distrust the enormous numbers given by such a writer as Valerius Antias⁴, even if at first he fell into the trap of following him⁵: he is under few illusions as to the trustworthiness of much of the early history⁶, but, contenting himself with a few general warnings, he takes what he finds and makes the best of it. But even Livy is the slave of tradition in many respects. The historians of his day cared little for, or had never learned, the claims of accurate truthfulness, and Livy makes many a statement in perfect good faith which in a modern writer would be regarded as definite evidence of *mala fides* or of incapacity. There is a famous instance in the fourth book⁷. Livy had stated that A. Cornelius Cossus was *tribunus militum* when he won the *spolia opima* in 437 B.C.⁸. But Augustus had discovered, by examining the inscription on the *spolia* in question, that Cossus had been, not tribune,

¹ Peter op. cit. i. 25; ii. 290 sq.

² See the evidence in Peter op. cit. i. 12 sqq.

³ iv. 34. 7: viii. 40. 4 *vitiatam memoriam fenebris laudibus rerum falsisque imaginem titulis, dum familiae ad se quaecumque famam rerum gestarum honorumque fallenti mendacio trahunt.*

⁴ xxxiii. 10. 8: xxvi. 49. 3.

⁵ vii. 36. 13: ix. 43. 17.

⁶ i. praef. § 6: i. 4. 1: iv. 23. 2.

⁷ iv. 20. 7 sqq.

⁸ iv. 19. 1.

but consul at the time. Livy allows his original statement to stand, appending a note embodying Augustus' discovery more as a compliment to the Emperor than as a serious contribution to criticism.

Twice in the XXVIth book does Livy quote his authorities: once to differ from Coelius Antipater in the account of Hannibal's march upon Rome¹; and the second time when in enumerating the spoils taken at New Carthage he discusses the variations in the accounts². But it is possible for a careful criticism to recover other traces of dependence upon certain authorities and to construct, at least in outline, the literary pedigree of the book³.

For the opening chapter Livy had the *annales maximi*, the *fasti*, or lists of magistrates, and the records, meagre enough no doubt, of the resolutions of the Senate⁴; but it is unlikely that he consulted these at first hand. Annalists before his day had done so, and Livy entered into their labours. The speeches in chapters 2 and 3 we must regard as practically his own composition: it was the invariable custom of historians to compose these for themselves, and where we have the opportunity of comparing Livy with other authorities we find that where each has inserted a speech Livy's is almost entirely independent of the other⁵. The question as to which particular annalist Livy was following here is another matter: we find nothing to assist in answering it till we come to c. 6. 9. Here Livy, after following a clearly exaggerated account, notes that he finds *apud alios* something more reasonable. Now the first account, besides being exaggerated, is from the Roman standpoint: the second is not only more moderate, but inclines to the Carthaginian side⁶, and ascribes a stratagem to Hannibal not mentioned by the other. This stratagem we find again in Appian⁷, but in another context. All this points to Coelius Antipater, one of Livy's main authorities for this war. Coelius

¹ c. II. 10.

² c. 49. 1-6.

³ For what follows with regard to the campaigns in Greece and Spain I am specially indebted to two articles by W. Soltau: *Zur Chronologie der hispanischen Feldzüge 212-206 v. Chr.*, in *Hermes* xxvi. pp. 408-439 (1891), and *Die griechischen Quellen in Livius' 23-30 Buch*, in *Philologus* LIII (vii. pp. 588-628 (1894).

⁴ For these sources see Teuffel *Röm. Lit.* pp. 102 ff. (E.T. .

⁵ e.g. Livy xxvi. 41 compared with Polybius x. 6.

⁶ Cf. §§ 1 and 2 of c. 6 with § 10.

⁷ Appian *Hann.* 41, perhaps following Coelius: if so, either he or Livy has separated the incident from its context.

Antipater followed Silenus¹, who was specially retained by Hannibal, as Callisthenes was by Alexander the Great, to write the history of his campaigns, and who would of course tell his story from the Carthaginian standpoint. We shall not be far wrong in seeing in the *alii* Coelius Antipater. The other account comes probably from Valerius Antias, whose exaggeration was notorious. The inference is strengthened by comparing the next instance of *discrepantia auctorum*, that in c. 11. 10. Here Livy himself expressly gives Coelius as his authority for the alternative account to the one followed in the main narrative, and here again we find traces of Valerius Antias as the source for the main body of the story. We have the same patriotic standpoint, and, more important still, it is the advice of a Valerius that saves Rome². When we consider the part played by the Fabii in the annals of Fabius Pictor we feel some confidence in finding here again the traces of Valerius Antias. Yet Livy does not here follow his author consistently, but combines the two accounts of the last stages of Hannibal's march in a way that makes shipwreck of probability and geography⁴.

Livy pauses again at the beginning of c. 16 to sum up for a third time the discrepancies between the authority he has followed and the *quidam* he has not followed, in regard to the actual capture and settlement of Capua. Virrius' speech of course is, in expression at least, Livy's own production, so are probably the details of the contents of the letter³ sent to Hannibal. In Livy's account Flaccus is the most prominent person, Appius' inactivity being variously explained: but Polybius does not seem to know of Flaccus being at Capua at all: Appius is to him the general of the army⁵. The minor discrepancies Livy has catalogued himself, but there is one serious confusion of which he seems unconscious. The fate of the Campanians is discussed twice and settled twice by the Senate: the first account is in c. 16. 6-13, and is apparently final: but in c. 33 the whole

¹ Peter *Historicorum Romanorum Reliquiae* cexx sqq.

² c. 8. 6. Of course, if Coelius' account be the true one, the narrative given by Livy in this chapter must be pure invention on the part of his authority.

³ Peter *Hist. Rom. Rel.* lxxxix sqq.

⁴ See Appendix I.

⁵ For the composition of letters by historians cf. the letters in Sallust's *Historiae* and *Catiline*, and see Peter *Gesch. Litt.* ii. 302.

⁶ ix. 3. 1; 7. 2.

question is reopened, ostensibly at the request of the Campanians, during the next year, without the slightest reference to any previous settlement by the Senate, and settled in pretty much the same way. In the present passage we are left in some doubt as to the authority to whom the settlement was due until the very end of the account¹. It is hard to resist the conclusion² that Livy found the details of the settlement put under different years by two different authorities. It does not seem possible in this section to determine the identity of his authorities by any internal evidence: we can at most assume that the main authority followed is probably the same as in the two sections preceding.

With c. 17 Livy turns to the war in Spain, which occupies cc. 17-20. 6. In c. 17 we have a specimen of Livy at his worst. The geography can only be brought within the bounds of possibility by an alteration in the text, which puts the Roman strategy outside the bounds of probability and certainly outside the possibility of comprehension³. The indifference to accuracy in geography and the description of military operations is characteristic not alone of Livy, but of the whole school of 'rhetorical' historians⁴. We are on firmer ground when we come to the narrative of Scipio's appointment to the command of the war in Spain in c. 19. It will be more convenient to discuss the sections relating to the Spanish war together, though Livy has been compelled by the annalistic plan of his work to group the operations by years. The sections are cc. 17-20. 6 and cc. 41-51.

The *provenance* of c. 17 is hard to trace and hardly worth the tracing: it evidently comes from some annalistic source. The account of Scipio and his appointment (cc. 18, 19) is from the same standpoint as Polybius' account⁵, but is clearly not borrowed directly from him: whatever the source was, it was also used by Appian⁶. Now Polybius expressly names Laelius as his authority for much of his information about Scipio⁷, and Livy and Appian follow an account which, while depending in the main upon the Laelian tradition,

¹ c. 17. 1; the fact could hardly be inferred from c. 16. 4.

² See the further remarks on c. 33.

³ See note to c. 17. 4.

⁴ Peter *Gesch. Litt.* ii. 214 ff., 307 ff.

⁵ Polyb. x. 3-5.

⁶ Appian *Ib.* 18.

⁷ Polyb. x. 3. 2 Γάιος Λαίλιος . . . ὁ ταύτην περὶ αὐτοῦ τὴν δόξαν ἡμῖν ἐνεργασάμενος.

combines with it other elements drawn from some other source. This other source is also Roman and, as c. 19. 7-9 shows, was interested in prodigies. This we know to have been a characteristic of Coelius Antipater¹. There is another indication pointing in the same direction. In Livy's account of Scipio in c. 19 there is a distinct hint of a sneer in §§ 3, 4 *arte quadam in ostentationem compositus*, and *siue et ipse capti quadam superstitione animi* are not the expressions of a perfectly genuine admiration such as Laelius and Polybius had. Now Coelius falls foul of the Scipio-cult elsewhere. Livy tells us in xxi. 46. 10 that Coelius, differing from the majority of authorities, denied to Scipio the credit of saving his father's life in the battle of the Ticinus. Peter's conclusion from the latter passage is *hinc quaedam in Scipiones malignitas elucere uidetur*². If one is right in seeing a similar *malignitas* here, the theory of the Coelian origin of the passage becomes highly probable³. With cc. 18 and 19 we must include c. 20, which can hardly be separated from them.

The case of the section contained in cc. 41-51 is in some respects similar. Here again we have close agreement in the main with Polybius and at the same time divergence in points of detail. That Livy expands the speeches on his own account is but usual and proves nothing either way⁴; but his narrative offers some additional points of interest. He knows, for instance, of the *tumulus Mercurii* (c. 44. 6), of which Polybius is ignorant: he knows the names of the quaestor Flaminius (c. 49. 10) and of the young Aluccius (c. 50. 2), neither of which is known to Polybius: in c. 47. 7 he speaks of *pounds*, not *talents*, the standard he would undoubtedly have employed, had he been merely transcribing Polybius, and a Roman annalistic source is probably responsible for the narrative of the contest for the *corona muralis* in c. 43, which is wanting in Polybius. Now Livy is following a source which in c. 49. 3 he distinguishes from Valerius Antias and Silenus, and therefore by implication from Coelius Antipater, to whom he owed his knowledge of Silenus: it is followed again in later books and is distinguished in xxix. 35. 2 from

¹ Peter *Hist. Rom. Rel.* cexxi sq., who, however, thinks this feature in Coelius is due to his following Silenus.

² *op. cit.* cexxiv.

³ See other arguments in Soltau *Phil. ut supr.* 614 ff.

⁴ For some curious divergences in Scipio's speech at Tarraco from Livy's narrative see notes to c. 41. 12 and 16.

Coelius and Valerius. We have here then an authority which was neither Coelius nor Valerius, but a Roman writer with a knowledge of Polybius, as is shown by the very close agreement with him on many points which can hardly be independent. All this seems to point to Claudius Quadrigarius¹—a conclusion supported by the peculiarity of the chronology.

The chronology of these Spanish extracts is an exceedingly difficult question, which has been solved by the acuteness of Soltau². Livy gives the following order of events: In March 211 (c. 2. 1) a despatch reaches the Senate from Marcius in Spain asking for provisions and clothing for the troops: after the capture of Capua in the same year, Nero is sent to Spain (c. 17. 1): immediately after, the Senate and people agree to send out Scipio, who reaches Spain at the end of the same season (c. 20. 7) along with M. Junius Silanus, who replaces Nero (c. 20. 4). Scipio spends the winter at Tarraco and early in the following year (210) captures New Carthage. All this is confusing enough: but it becomes still more confusing when we find that Polybius knows nothing of Nero and puts the capture in 209.

Now when Livy takes his dates directly from Polybius he often falls into an error in expressing Polybius' Olympiads in terms of the Roman official year, which began six months later, and in doing so he puts the events a year too late. Here, for instance, he would, had he copied Polybius directly, have put the capture of New Carthage in 208.

It seems to follow, not merely that the authority whom Livy is following was not Polybius, but that he was an author who adopted an entirely different system of chronology. Now Livy in some places³ dates events by the number of years since the outbreak of the war: but authorities differed on the date of the outbreak; some, like Cato, reckoning it from 219, others, as Livy generally does, from 218. Among the former was Claudius Quadrigarius⁴, and if Livy is following his reckoning here the divergence in the date of the capture of New Carthage is explained: Claudius, finding it in his authority assigned to the tenth year of the war, put it under the tenth

¹ Soltau *Hermes*, *ut suprà*. 429.

² *Philologus*, *ut suprà*. 607 ff.

³ e.g. xxiii. 20. 18; xxiv. 9. 7; xxvii. 22. 1, &c.

⁴ As is proved by a comparison of xxv. 38. 6 with xxv. 39. 12.

from 219, i.e. in 210, and Livy adopts the date without taking into account that the *terminus a quo* differs from his own.

If the capture then took place in 209, and Polybius is almost certain to be right, Scipio reached Spain first in 210, and if Nero were sent in 211 he was sent out a full year before Scipio's arrival. The only question that remains is: by whom was Nero superseded? Livy says expressly, by Silanus: but if Silanus was merely *adiutor* to Scipio, while Nero was (though only of praetorian rank) commander for the time being, he would be succeeded by Scipio. Perhaps what happened was that Nero went out in the summer of 211, and was succeeded in March 210, the opening of the next official year, by Silanus. In the summer of 210 the Senate and people decided on more vigorous measures in Spain and nominated Scipio to the command, Silanus being retained as *adiutor* to the new commander-in-chief. In the uncertainty of the whole question this is perhaps as probable a solution as any other¹.

To come back to the order of the narrative. Chapter 21 comes from some annalistic source, and c. 23 is drawn originally from the *annales maximi*, c. 22 being probably a combination of both sources. The question of the authority to whom Livy owes these chapters will be discussed later. With cc. 24-26. 4 we come to the narrative of contemporary affairs in Greece, loosely joined to the preceding in Livy's usual style by *per idem tempus*². That this section is drawn from a Greek source is probable from the use of Greek forms of the proper names *Macedonas* (c. 24. 5), *Acaruanas* (c. 24. 6), *Leucata* (c. 26. 1): this is further supported by the intimate knowledge shown of Greek geography, politics, and diplomacy: Polybius is pointed to by the brief geographical parentheses (c. 24. 15; 26. 2) so characteristic of his style, and the matter, so far as we can judge from the fragments of this part of Polybius which have been preserved, is identical in both historians. We cannot be far wrong in seeing here a transcript of Polybius. On the other hand it is certain that Livy did not begin

¹ See Soltau *ut supr.* p. 610 for a table of the probable dates: he leaves the question of Nero's successor undecided.

² This transition formula sometimes seems to mark a change of authority as well as of subject; cf. *inter haec* c. 10. 3, where there is nothing but this phrase to mark the change from Valerius to Coelius: v. note ad loc. So *per id. t.* in c. 40. 1: *inter haec* in c. 18. 1 marks a transition from the poor source of c. 17 to Coelius Antipater.

to make a systematic use of Polybius till he came to write Book 30. Again there is a curious discrepancy between the account of Laevinus' operations given in these chapters and the short notice in c. 28. 1-2, a discrepancy so glaring as only to be explained by a difference between the sources followed in the two passages. But why did Livy not do away with the discrepancy by a stroke of his pen? The answer given by Soltau¹ seems convincing: the passage in question (cc. 24-26. 4) was inserted from Polybius after the rest of the book had been composed, and simply put in without any attempt to adapt it to its context.

From c. 26. 5 on we again come upon a Roman annalistic source: that it was strongly on the Roman side we can see from the exaggerated account given in c. 28. 2 of Laevinus' exploits in Greece: the accounts of the fire in the forum in c. 27 and of the distribution of the armies and provinces in c. 28 go back to the *annales maximi*: the fact of the Sicilian embassy appearing in the Senate probably comes from the same source, though here again the art displayed in the composition of the speeches (particularly that of Marcellus in c. 31) is Livy's addition to his authority. The discrepancies between these statements and Livy's previous account of the capture of Syracuse point to a difference in the sources employed. It is fairly certain that Livy's account of the capture of Syracuse was subjected to a revision after he became acquainted with the worth of Polybius' work, and that his original account (of which he has suffered some fragments to remain) was derived from Coelius². These new extracts from Polybius were added after the twenty-ninth book had been written and therefore after the narrative here had assumed its present form. Livy did not take the trouble to revise all his references to Syracuse, to make them agree with the new version, and discrepancies like those here referred to are the result. It is therefore probable that the references here are based upon the original authority for the capture of Syracuse, i.e. Coelius Antipater.

The narrative of the discussion in the Senate upon the fate of the Campanians, contained in cc. 33 and 34, is almost certainly from some source other than that followed in c. 16. 5-13. It is very much fuller, it lays stress upon the constitutional question of the rights of the

¹ *Philol. ut supr.* 594 ff.

² See the facts collected by Soltau, *Philologus, ut supr.* pp. 617-628.

Campani as *cives Romani* (c. 33. 10 sqq.)—a point passed over in the previous narrative—and, though they are represented as appealing to the Senate from the cruelties of Fulvius, there is no hint of the fact that the Senate had already considered and settled the case. In fact there is strong evidence to show that the source followed here knew of no such previous settlement. In c. 16. 6 we are told that all the citizens with the exception of the *nobiles* who were imprisoned at Rome or throughout Italy were sold: according to the narrative in c. 34 a large proportion are merely deported from Campania, and yet we read (c. 34. 13) *ob haec decreta maestiores aliquanto, quam Romanos uenerant, Campanos dimiserunt*. The statement is unintelligible if the previous account be correct. Nor can we see why the selling of an entire population is not mentioned in c. 33. 2 at least along with, if not instead of, the fate of the nobles in the complaint which the ambassadors make of the severity of their fate. In c. 33. 4 Fulvius is credited with the whole responsibility for the fate of Capua, and his case is put on a par with that of Marcellus: in Regulus' speech the decision is regarded as that of the consuls, and the right of the Senate to interfere *iniussa populi* (as they are represented to have done in the previous account) is expressly denied, nor does Regulus appear to be aware of any punishment inflicted on the town beyond the beheading of the Senators: the formal decree of the plebs seems absurd if the Senate had already settled the question and were now merely considering the possibility of relaxing the severity of the punishment: the postponement (in c. 34. 4) of the case of some Capuans seems strange if this was a final adjudication upon appeal. We seem forced to the conclusion that Livy has been using two sources, one of which placed the decision in 211, while the other, evidently a better informed and fuller source, placed it in 210. This latter source then looked upon Fulvius as in absolute command of the fate of the Capuans by virtue of his *imperium militiae* till 210, when they appealed to the Senate, who *iussu populi* finally decided upon their fate.

Chapters 35 and 36 are again from some annalistic source, and there seems to be no necessity for supposing it to be other than that followed in the previous section.

What this source is we must now consider. We have already seen that chapters 18 to 20 are probably from Coelius: with regard to chapters 21-23 we have no hint to lead us to infer any change in the

source: they are evidently from a Roman annalist. From chapter 24. 1 to chapter 26. 4 is an extract from Polybius, while from 26. 5 on we have a continuous narrative which in its reference to Syracuse seems to point to Coelius, while in the chapters dealing with the Campanians it is clearly at variance with the source followed in chapter 16: but this chapter was taken in all probability from Valerius Antias, so that the rival account is more probably from Coelius than from any other source. If these conclusions be sound we have, then, a long extract, from chapter 18 to chapter 36, which is uniform, with the exception of one extract from Polybius which shows traces of later insertion: and, since this section shows traces in more than one place of dependence upon Coelius, we may assume that it is derived throughout from him.

There seems little doubt, however, that c. 37 is not drawn from the same source: it interrupts the order of the narrative, and in its artistic balance both of thought and expression it betrays the rhetorical training both of mind and style so characteristic of the speeches: it is Livy's comment on the narrative his authorities supply.

With chapter 38 we again return to the narrative and the annalists. The story of the capture of Salapia is given in Appian¹, but with great difference of detail with regard to the actual capture of the place—differences great enough to make one hesitate before claiming the same source for the two narratives. Appian's source is, perhaps, Coelius, and Livy may be abridging his narrative here, or Appian may have expanded it from some other source. The evidence does not seem to warrant a definite conclusion.

With the phrase *per idem tempus* of c. 39 we come upon a new section and a new authority as in c. 24. 1. The accurate information possessed on the one hand with regard to the small detachment of the Roman navy at Regium (c. 39. 3-5) and of the Roman movements at Tarentum (c. 39. 20-22), the patriotic tone of the whole (see esp. c. 40. 11), combined with the use of the unusual Greek name Sybaris instead of Thurii (c. 39. 7), point to a Roman source that had made use of a Greek original. Claudius, who relied upon the *Græci Aciliani libri*², answers admirably to the description.

A systematic study of a single book of Livy gives a better idea of the methods of the historian in using his materials than pages of generalities. We can see the want of any consistent critical criterion.

¹ Appian *Hann.* 45-47.

² Liv. xxxv. 14. 5.

the carelessness in points of detail, the anxiety to give a narrative more complete than one's predecessors leading to the combination of contradictory accounts or the insertion of paragraphs at distinct variance with their context. Such an analysis is like sinking a pit on a prehistoric site and inferring something from its superimposed strata as to the vicissitudes and development that marked its history.

There is much in Livy's methods to shock modern ideas of what history ought to be, and perhaps not a little for which there is some thing to be said. Probably what will strike a modern reader as the most directly unscientific feature (if indeed so mild a word would be employed) is the habit of inserting speeches for even the main tenor of which he could not possibly have the most remote authority. And yet it may be urged that a practice and a conception of history that have given us the speeches of Thucydides may have, at least, something to be said in their favour. No deception was intended by the fiction, no wrong impression was conveyed¹. It was a perfectly well understood convention that there were certain occasions to which full justice could only be done, phases of character to which adequate and dramatic expression could only be given, by the employment of the spoken word. A political crisis is never so well understood, divergent interests are never so sharply presented and so unerringly grasped, as when the leaders give expression to the inner principles of their party or their programme with all the bluntness and partiality of untrammelled utterance. What the envy of time had denied to succeeding generations the historian undertook to supply. Where a speech actually delivered had been lost he invented from his knowledge of the period the form which the speech had probably taken, or ought to have taken had the orator risen to his opportunity: where no speech had been delivered, the historian supplied for his readers what circumstances had failed to bestow upon a vainly expectant generation. And by the rules of his art he was compelled to adapt his speech to the character of the supposed speaker. A speech that would be delivered by an Athenian could under no conceivable circumstances be attributed to a Spartan: what Camillus might have said would never be let fall from the lips of Cato. In the hands of a master the effect was to present a situation in a strikingly vivid and

¹ See Jebb's article on 'The speeches of Thucydides' in *Hellenica* pp. 266 ff., esp. pp. 276-278, 295 ff.

dramatic form, and in such hands the risk of positive error or actual misapprehension was reduced to a minimum. The method is liable to abuse and is certain to be abused in incompetent hands: but it may be questioned whether all the painful and prolix industry of modern and ancient historians combined has proved the essential falsehood of a single sentence in the famous speeches which open Thucydides' narrative of the Peloponnesian war¹, or has done aught but obscure the clear-cut outline of his presentment.

But Thucydides had no successor. Polybius, whose *bona fides* and carefulness are undoubted, lacked his massive strength and restraint of method. Livy², with more art than Polybius and infinitely less material for forming a correct judgement, set himself an almost impossible task. Not even his admirers will pretend that the political speeches of his early books throw light upon the disputes they are, by a not too exacting fiction, supposed to have been intended to solve. But what Livy could do he has done. He has left us a gallery of Roman portraits of splendid variety and range: a Camillus³, a Papirius Cursor, a Scipio, a Marcellus, a Cato, stand, clearly marked types of character, upon his pages. No one who has seen the ferocity of outraged majesty in Papirius⁴, the kindly and romantic egotism of Scipio⁵, the indignant shame of Marcellus before his craven troops⁶, the pungent Cato cynically defending the Oppian Law⁷, can ever forget the features of these masterly portraits. No one can either affirm or deny their historical fidelity: but that the Roman world accepted them as the almost official expression of their conception of the *mores Romani* confers upon them an ideal validity which we cannot afford to despise.

Livy projects into the past the contemporary ideals of Roman character: he projects into the past also his ideals of Roman conduct. The Carthaginian is cruel and perfidious⁸, the Roman invariably just

¹ Thuc. i. 68-78.

² It seems to have been Coelius Antipater who introduced speeches of this kind into Roman history. Peter *Hist. Rom. Rell.* cexviii sq.

³ v. cc. 51-54.

⁴ viii. c. 32 sqq. *imperium inuictum populi Romani.*

⁵ xxvi. cc. 41, 50.

⁶ xxvii. c. 13 *non equidem mihi cum exercitu meo loqui uideor* (§ 6).

⁷ xxxiv. cc. 2-4 *an blandiores in publico quam in privato, et alienis quam nostris eslis* (2. 10).

⁸ Cf. the description of Hannibal xxi. 4. 9. *inhumana crudelitas, perfidia plus quam Punica, nihil ueri, nihil sancti, nullus deum metus, nullum iniurandum, nulla religio.*

and humane¹. Their humanity had been often far to seek, their justice too often invisible to the judged: but 'he that is unjust, let him be unjust still' was not the maxim of the historian. Like the Greek dramatist he sketched his characters not as they were, but as they ought to have been: the kindlier spirit of his own day, his own kindly disposition, have lent a softening touch to the fiercer passions of a bygone age, and we find in Livy not the living, breathing Romans of Republican times, but the ideal which their descendants had formed of them. And such a picture to the historian of civilization is not without its value.

It must not be forgotten that the idea of a history undertaken with the single object of presenting a faithful objective picture of the past was a conception almost entirely foreign to the age of Livy. History was an art, and an art with a purpose: and Livy's two ruling passions seem to be patriotism and puritanism. His patriotic feeling colours every page. He found a similar feeling, no doubt, in many of his sources, but he made it a ruling principle of his writing. He and not Cicero is the true 'prose Vergil of Rome.' His patriotism is a mellow and on the whole kindly feeling, which, while it honours Rome above every land on earth², yet feels that other nations have their place to fill³. He has not the deep human feeling of Vergil. Had we his account of the battle of Actium and the flight of Cleopatra, we should search in vain for Vergil's noble picture of the Nile⁴:

*pandentemque sinus et tota ueste uocantem
caeruleum in gremium latebrosaę flumina uictos.*

Nor should we have, on the other hand, the somewhat plebeian outburst⁵:

*nunc est bibendum, nunc pede libero
pulsanda tellus.*

¹ *nulla unquam res publica nec maior nec sanctior nec bonis exemplis ditior fuit.* i. præf. § 11.

² *Hoc illud est præcipue in cognitione rerum salubre ac frugiferum omnis te exempli documenta in industri posita monumento intueri: inde tibi tueque rei publicae quod imitere capias, inde foedum inceptu, foedum exitu quod uites.* Liv. i. præf. § 10. Peter Gesch. Litt. ii. 219 ff.

³ *principis terrarum populi,* i. præf. § 3.

⁴ *ea belli gloria est populo R. ut cum suum conditorisque sui parentem Martem potissimum ferat, tam et hoc gentes humanæ patiantur æquo animo quam imperium patiuntur:* ib. § 7.

⁵ *Aen. viii. 712 f.*

⁶ Hor. C. i. 37.

We should find in their place the description of flight, rout, and pursuit in the majestic prose of which he is a master, and, to conclude, a settlement 'in accordance with the clemency of the Roman people': and we should feel that the *populus Romanus* was too proud to be vindictive, and that justice combined with mercy had no surer safeguard, hardly a more sublime sanction, than in the immemorial attributes of the Roman people.

But his patriotism is a feeling not wholly unmingled with fear. The outlook for the Empire was not free from clouds. Patriot as he was, he could not conceal from himself a gradual weakening of the moral fibre, a relaxation of the virtues, that had made Rome great¹. His boyhood had been spent amid the warlike scenes which saw the last of the old Republic, and in Livy's eyes the worse cause had triumphed. The old free civic life which, with all its abuses, had been the nursery of the Roman virtues was gone for ever. The population was decreasing, morality was ceasing to be fashionable, family ties were being loosened², wealth, ostentation, and luxury were on the increase. He sees in the history of the Empire a gradual decline: first, the almost imperceptible relaxation of restraint, then the longing for licence, last, the headlong rush on the downward path, *imus imus præcipites*, 'till we have reached an age in which neither our vices nor attempts to reform them can possibly be endured³.' Livy adds with a wistful inconsistency one *remedium* the more. His book is an attempt to hold up to a degenerate city a picture of the heroes and the institutions which had made the Empire. He entreats his reader to 'look upon this picture and upon that,' and concludes his preface with a prayer for the Divine blessing upon his labours, addressed to the gods and goddesses in whom his contemporaries believed no more.

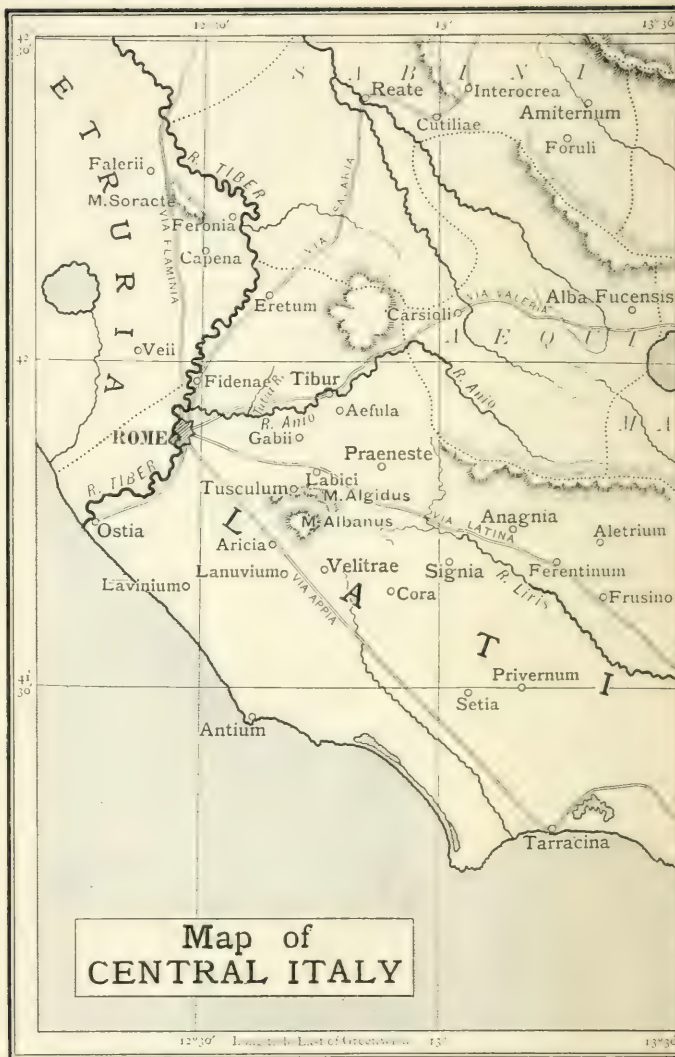
¹ *nuper divitiarum avaritiam et abundantis voluptates desiderium per luxum atque libidinem pereundi perdendique omnia inuexere*, i. præf. § 12.

² *Fecunda culpæ sæcula nuptias
primum inquinavere et genus et domos:
hoc fonte derivata clades
in patriam populumque fluxit.*

Hor. C. iii. 6. 17-20.

³ *labente deinde paulatim disciplina velut desidentes primo mores sequatur animo, deinde ut magis magisque lapsi sint. tum ire coeperint præcipites, donec ad hæc tempora quibus nec vitia nostra nec remedia pati possumus, perventum est*, i. præf. § 9.

MAP OF CENTRAL ITALY





TITI LIVI

AB URBE CONDITA

LIBER XXVI

I. Cn. Fulvius Centimalus P. Sulpicius Galba consules 1
cum idibus Martiis magistratum inissent, senatu in Capito-
lium uocato de re publica, de administratione belli, de pro-
uinciis exercitibusque patres consuluerunt. Q. Fulvio Ap. 2
Claudio, prioris anni consulibus, prorogatum imperium est
atque exercitus, quos habebant, decreti adiectumque, ne a
Capua, quam obsidebant, abscederent prius quam expugnas-
sent. ea tum cura maxime intentos habebat Romanos, non 3
ab ira tantum, quae in nullam unquam ciuitatem iustior
fuit, quam quod urbs tam nobilis ac potens, sicut defectione 4
sua traxerat aliquot populos, ita recepta inclinatura rursus
animos uidebatur ad ueteris imperii respectum, et prae- 5
toribus prioris anni, M. Iunio in Etruria, P. Sempronio in
Gallia, cum binis legionibus, quas habuerant, prorogatum est
imperium: prorogatum et M. Marcello, ut pro consule in 6
Sicilia reliqua belli perficeret eo exercitu, quem haberet; si 7
supplemento opus esset, suppleret de legionibus, quibus
P. Cornelius propraetor in Sicilia praecesset, dum ne quem 8
militem legeret ex eo numero, quibus senatus missionem
reditumque in patriam negasset ante belli finem. C. Sul- 9
picio, cui Sicilia euenerat, duae legiones, quas P. Cornelius
habuisset, decretae et supplementum de exercitu Cn. Fuluii,
qui priore anno in Apulia foede caesus fugatusque erat huic 10
generi militum senatus eundem quem Cannensibus finem

statuerat militiae. additum etiam utrorumque ignominiae est, ne in oppidis hibernarent neve hiberna propius ullam
11 urbem decem milibus passuum aedificarent. L. Cornelio in Sardinia duae legiones datae, quibus Q. Mucius prae- fuerat; supplementum, si opus esset, consules scribere iussi.
12 T. Otacilio et M. Valerio Siciliae Graeciaeque ora cum legio- nibus classibusque, quibus praeerant, decretae; quinquaginta Graecia cum legione una, centum Sicilia cum duabus
13 legionibus habebant naues. tribus et viginti legionibus Romanis eo anno bellum terra marique est gestum.

1 II. Principio eius anni cum de litteris L. Marcii refer- retur, res gestae magnificae senatui uisae: titulus honoris, quod imperio non populi iussu, non ex auctoritate patrum dato
2 'propraetor senatui' scripserat, magnam partem hominum offendebat: rem mali exempli esse, imperatores legi ab exer- citibus et sollemne auspicandorum comitiorum in castra et
3 prouincias procul ab legibus magistratibusque ad militarem temeritatem transferri. et cum quidam referendum ad sena- tum censerent, melius uisum differri eam consultationem,
4 donec proficiscerentur equites, qui ab Marcio litteras attule- rant. rescribi de frumento et uestimentis exercitus placuit
5 eam utramque rem curae fore senatui; adscribi autem 'propraetori L. Marcio' non placuit, ne id ipsum, quod consulta-
6 tioni reliquerant, pro praeiudicato ferret. dimissis equitibus de nulla re prius consules rettulerunt, omniumque in unum
sententiae congruebant, agendum cum tribunis plebis esse, primo quoque tempore ad plebem ferrent, quem cum imperio
7 mitti placeret in Hispaniam ad eum exercitum, cui Cn. Scipio imperator praeuisset. ea res cum tribunis acta promul- gataque est.

7 Sed aliud certamen occupauerat animos. C. Sempronius Blaesus die dicta Cn. Fuluium ob exercitum in Apulia amissum in contionibus uexabat, multos imperatores temeri- tate atque inscitia exercitum in locum praecipitem perduxisse

dictitans, neminem praeter Cn. Fulvium ante corrupisse omnibus uitiis legiones suas, quam proderet. itaque uere dici posse prius eos perisse. quam uiderent hostem, nec ab Hannibale, sed ab imperatore suo uictos esse. neminem, cum suffragium ineat, satis cernere, cui imperium, cui exercitum permittat. quid interfuisse inter Ti. Sempronium et Cn. Fulvium? Ti. Sempronium, cum ei seruorum exercitus datus esset, breui effecisse disciplina atque imperio, ut nemo eorum generis ac sanguinis sui memor in acie esset, praesidio sociis, hostibus terrori essent: Cumas, Beneuentum aliasque urbis eos uelut e faucibus Hannibalis ereptas populo Romano restituisse: Cn. Fulvium Quiritium Romanorum exercitum, honeste genitos, liberaliter educatos seruilibus uitiis imbuisse, ergo effecisse, ut feroces et inquieti inter socios, ignaui et inbelles inter hostes essent nec impetum modo Poenorum, sed ne clamorem quidem sustinere possent, nec hercule mirum esse *cessisse* milites in acie, cum primus omnium imperator fugeret; magis mirari se aliquos stantis cecidisse, et non omnis comites Cn. Fului fuisse pauoris ac fugae, C. Flaminium, L. Paulum, L. Postumium, Cn. ac P. Scipiones cadere in acie maluisse quam deserere circumuentes exercitus: Cn. Fulvium prope unum nuntium deleti exercitus Romam redisse, facinus indignum esse Cannensem exercitum, quod ex acie fugerit, in Siciliam deportatum, ne prius inde dimittatur, quam hostis ex Italia decesserit, et hoc idem in Cn. Fului legionibus nuper decretum: Cn. Fulvius fugam ex proelio ipsius temeritate commisso impunitam esse, et cum in ganea lustrisque, ubi iuuentam egerit, senectutem acturum, milites, qui nihil aliud peccauerint, quam quod imperatoris similes fuerint, relegatos prope in exilium ignominiosam pati militiam. adeo imparem libertatem Romae diti ac pauperi, honorato atque inhonorato esse. III. reus ab se culpam in milites transferebat: eos ferociter pugnam poscentis productos in aciem, non eo quo uoluerint, quia

serum diei fuerit, sed postero die, et tempore et loco aequo instructos, seu famam seu vim hostium non sustinuisse.

2 cum effuse omnes fugerent, se quoque turba ablatum, ut Varronem Cannensi pugna, ut multos alios imperatores,

3 qui autem solum se restantem prodesse rei publicae, nisi si mors sua remedio publicis cladibus futura esset, potuisse?

4 non se inopia commeatus in loca iniqua incaute deductum, non agmine inexplorato euntem insidiis circumuentum: ui aperta, armis, acie uictum. nec suorum animos nec hostium in potestate habuisse: suum cuique ingenium audaciam aut

5 pauorem facere. his est accusatus pecuniaque anquisitum: tertio testibus datis, cum, praeterquam quod omnibus probris onerabatur, iurati permulti dicerent fugae pauorisque initium

6 a praetore ortum, ab eo desertos milites, cum haud uanum timorem ducis crederent, terga dedisse, tanta ira accensa est,

7 ut capite anquirendum contio succlamaret. de eo quoque nouum certamen ortum: nam cum his pecunia anquisisset,

8 tertio capitis se anquirere diceret, tribuni plebis appellati conlegae negarunt se in mora esse, quo minus, quod ei more maiorum permissum esset, seu legibus seu moribus mallet, anquireret, quoad uel capitis uel pecuniae iudicasset priuato.

9 tum Sempronius perduellionis se iudicare Cn. Fuluius dixit diemque comitiis ab C. Calpurnio praetore urbano petit.

10 inde alia spes ab reo temptata est, si adesse in iudicio Q. Fuluius frater posset, florens tum et fama rerum gestarum

11 et propinqua spe Capuae potiundae. id cum per litteras miserabiliter pro fratris capite scriptas petisset Fuluius,

12 negassentque patres e re publica esse abscedi a Capua, postquam dies comitiorum aderat, Cn. Fuluius exulatum Tarquinius abiit. id ei iustum exilium esse sciuit plebs.

1 IV. Inter haec uis omnis belli uersa in Capuam erat: obsidebatur tamen acrius quam oppugnabatur; nec aut famem tolerare seruitia ac plebs poterant aut mittere nuntios ad

2 Hannibalem per custodias tam artas. inuentus est Numida,

qui acceptis litteris enasurum se professus praestaret promissum. per media Romana castra nocte egressus spem accendit Campanis, dum aliquid uirium superesset, ab omni parte eruptionem temptandi. ceterum in multis certaminibus equestria proelia ferme prospera faciebant, pedite superabantur. sed nequaquam tam laetum uincere quam triste uinci ulla parte erat ab obsesso et prope expugnato hoste. inita tandem ratio est, ut quod uiribus deerat arte aequaretur. ex omnibus legionibus electi sunt iuvenes maxime uigore ac leuitate corporum ueloces; eis parmae breuiores quam equestres et septena iacula quaternos longa pedes data praefixa ferro, quale hastis uelitaribus inest. eos singulos in equos suos accipientes equites adsuefecerunt et uehi post sese et desilire perniciter, ubi datum signum esset. id postquam adsuetudine cotidiana satis intrepide fieri uisum est, in campum, qui medius inter castra murumque erat, aduersus instructos Campanorum equites processerunt, et, ubi ad coniectum teli uentum est, signo dato uelites desiliunt, pedestris inde acies ex equitatu repente in hostium equites incurrit, iaculaque cum impetu alia super alia emittunt, quibus plurimis in equos uirosque passim coniectis permultos uulnerauerunt, pauoris tamen plus ex re noua atque inopinata iniectum est, et in perculsum hostem equites inuecti fugam stragemque eorum usque ad portas fecerunt. inde equitatu quoque superior Romana res fuit. institutum, ut uelites in legionibus essent. auctorem peditum equiti inmiscendorum centurionem Q. Nauium ferunt, honori que id ei apud imperatorem fuisse.

V. Cum in hoc statu ad Capuam res essent, Hannibalem diuersum Tarentinae arcis potiundae Capuaeque retinendae trahebant curae. uicit tamen respectus Capuae, in quam omnium sociorum hostiumque conuersos uidebat animos, documento futurae, qualemcumque euentum defectio ab Romanis habuisset. igitur magna parte impedimentorum relictas

in Brutiis et omni grauiore armatu cum delectis peditum
equitumque quam poterat aptissimus ad maturandum iter
in Campaniam contendit. secuti tamen tam raptim euntem
4 tres et triginta elephantī. in ualle occulta post Tifata mon-
tem imminentem Capuae consedit. adueniens cum castellum
Galatiam praesidio ui pulso cepisset, in circumsedentis
5 Capuam se uertit, praemissisque nuntiis Capuam, quo tem-
pore castra Romana adgressurus esset, ut eodem et illi ad
eruptionem parati portis omnibus sese effunderent, ingentem
6 praebuit terrorem. nam alia parte ipse adortus est, alia
Campani omnes, equites peditesque, et cum iis Punicum
7 praesidium, cui Bostar et Hanno praeerant, erupit. Romani
ut in re trepida, ne ad unam concurrento partem aliquid
indefensi relinquerent, ita inter sese copias partiti sunt :
8 Ap. Claudius Campanis, Fuluius Hannibali est oppositus :
C. Nero propraetor cum equitibus sex legionum uia, quae
Suessulam fert, C. Fuluius Flaccus legatus cum sociali
9 equitatu constitit e regione Volturni amnis. proelium non
solito modo clamore ac tumultu est coeptum, sed ad alium
uirorum, equorum armorumque sonum disposita in muris
Campanorum inbellis multitudo tantum cum aeris crepitu,
qualis in defectu lunae silenti nocte cieri solet, edidit cla-
10 morem, ut auerteret etiam pugnantium animos. Campanos
facile a uallo Appius arcebat : maior uis ab altera parte
11 Fuluium Hannibal et Poeni urgebant. legio ibi sexta loco
cessit, qua pulsa cohors Hispanorum cum tribus elephantis
usque ad uallum peruasit, ruperatque mediam aciem Ro-
manorum et in ancipiti spe ac periculo erat, utrum in castra
12 perrumperet an intercluderetur a suis. quem pauorem legionis
periculumque castrorum Fuluius ubi uidit, Q. Nauium pri-
moresque alios centurionum hortatur, ut cohortem hostium
13 sub uallo pugnantem inuadant : in summo discrimine rem
ueri : aut uiam dandam iis esse, et minore conatu, quam
condensam aciem rupissent, in castra inrupturos, aut con-

ficiendos sub uallo esse. nec magni certaminis rem fore : 14
paucos esse et ab suis interclusos. et quae, dum pau-
eat Romanus, interrupta acies uideatur, eam, si se utrimque
in hostem uertat, ancipiti pugna medios circumuenturam.
Nauius ubi haec imperatoris dicta accepit, secundi hastati 15
signum ademptum signifero in hostis infert, iacturum in
medios eos minitans, ni se propere sequantur milites et
partem capessant pugnae. ingens corpus erat, et arma 16
honestabant : et sublatum alte signum conuerterat ad
spectaculum cuius hostisque. ceterum postquam iam ad 17
signa peruenerat Hispanorum, tum undique in eum tragulae
coniectae et prope tota in unum acies uersa ; sed neque
multitudo hostium neque telorum uis arcere impetum eius
uiri potuerunt. VI. Et M. Atilius legatus primi principis 1
ex eadem legione signum inferre in cohortem Hispanorum
coepit : et qui castris praeerant L. Porcius Licinus et T. Popi-
lius legati pro uallo acriter propugnant elephantosque trans-
gredientes in ipso uallo conficiunt. quorum corporibus cum 2
oppleta fossa esset, uelut aggere aut ponte iniecto transitum
hostibus dedit. ibi *super* stragem iacentium elephantorum
atrox edita caedes. altera in parte castrorum iam impulsis 3
erant Campani Punicumque praesidium et sub ipsa porta
Capuae, quae Vulturum fert, pugnabatur : neque tam armati 4
inrumpentibus Romanis resistebant, quam porta ballistis
scorpionibusque instructa missilibus procul hostis arcebat.
et suppressit impetum Romanorum uulnus imperatoris Ap. 5
Claudi, cui suos ante prima signa adhortanti sub laeua umero
summum pectus gaeso ictum est. magna uis tamen hostium
ante portam est caesa, ceteri trepidi in urbem compulsi. et 6
Hannibal, postquam cohortis Hispanorum stragem uidit
summaque ui castra hostium defendi, ommissa oppugnatione
recipere signa et conuertere agmen peditum obiecto ab tergo
equitatu, ne hostis instaret, coepit. legionum ardor ingens 7
ad hostem insequendum fuit : Flaccus receptui cani iussit,

satis ad utrumque profectum ratus, ut et Campani, quam
 haud multum in Hannibale praesidii esset, et ipse Hannibal
 8 sentiret. caesa eo die qui huius pugnae auctores sunt octo
 milia hominum de Hannibalis exercitu, tria ex Campanis
 tradunt, signaque Carthaginiensibus quindecim adempta,
 9 duodeuiginti Campanis. apud alios nequaquam tantam
 molem pugnae inueni plusque pauoris quam certaminis
 fuisse, cum inopinato in castra Romana Numidae Hispani-
 10 que cum elephantis inrupissent, elephantum per media castra
 uadentes stragem tabernaculorum ingenti sonitu ac fugam
 11 abruptentium uincula iumentorum facerent; fraudem quo-
 que super tumultum adiectam inmissis ab Hannibale, qui
 habitu Italico gnari Latinae linguae iuberent consulum uer-
 bis, quoniam amissa castra essent, pro se quemque militum
 12 in proximos montis fugere; sed eam celeriter cognitam
 fraudem oppressamque magna caede hostium; elephantos
 13 igni e castris exactos. Hoc ultimum—utcumque initum fini-
 tumque est—ante deditionem Capuae proelium fuit. medix
 tuticus, qui summus magistratus apud Campanos est, eo
 anno Seppius Loesius erat, loco obscuro tenuique fortuna
 14 ortus. matrem eius quondam pro pupillo eo procurantem
 familiare ostentum, cum respondisset haruspex summum
 quod esset imperium Capuae peruenturum ad eum puerum,
 15 nihil ad eam spem adgnoscentem dixisse ferunt ‘ne tu
 perditas res Campanorum narras, ubi summus honos ad
 16 filium meum perueniet.’ ea ludificatio ueri et ipsa in uerum
 uertit; nam cum fame ferroque urgerentur nec spes ulla
 superesset sisti *posse, iis, qui nati in spem honorum erant,*
 17 honores detrectantibus, Loesius querendo desertam ac pro-
 ditam a primoribus Capuam summum magistratum ultimus
 omnium Campanorum cepit.

1 VII. Ceterum Hannibal ut nec hostis elici amplius ad
 pugnam uidit neque per castra eorum perrumpi ad Capuam
 2 posse, ne suos quoque commeatus intercluderent noui con-

sules, abscedere inrito incepto et mouere a Capua statuit castra. multa secum, quoniam inde ire pergeret, uolenti 3 subiit animum impetus caput ipsum belli Romam petendi, cuius rei semper cupitae praetermissam occasionem post Cannensem pugnam et alii uulgo fremebant et ipse non dissimulabat: necopinato pauore ac tumultu non esse de- 4 sperandum aliquam partem urbis occupari posse: et, si 5 Roma in discrimine esset, Capuam extemplo omissuros aut ambo imperatores Romanos aut alterum ex iis, et, si diuississent copias, utrumque infirmiozem factum aut sibi aut Campanis bene gerendae rei fortunam daturos esse. una 6 ea cura angebat, ne, ubi abscessisset, extemplo dederentur Campani. Numidam promptum ad omnia audenda agendaque donis perlicuit, ut litteris acceptis specie transfugae castra Romana ingressus altera parte clam Capuam peruadat. lit- 7 terae autem erant adhortatione plenae: profectionem suam, quae salutaris illis foret, abstracturam ad defendendam Romam ab oppugnanda Capua duces atque exercitus Romanos, ne desponderent animos: tolerando paucos dies totam soluturos 8 obsidionem. inde nauis in flumine Vulturno comprehensas 9 subigi ad id, quod iam ante praesidii causa fecerat, castellum iussit. quarum ubi tantam copiam esse, ut una nocte traici 10 posset exercitus, allatum est, cibariis decem dierum praeparatis deductas nocte ad fluuium legiones ante lucem traiecit.

VIII. Id priusquam fieret, ita futurum conpertum ex 1 transfugis Fuluius Flaccus senatui Romam cum scripsisset, uarie animi hominum pro cuiusque ingenio adfecti sunt, ut in re tam trepida senatu extemplo uocato P. Cornelius, 2 cui Asinae cognomen erat, omnes duces exercitusque ex tota Italia neque Capuae neque ullius alterius rei memor ad urbis praesidium reuocabat; Fabius Maximus abscedi 3 a Capua terrerique et circumagi ad nutus comminationesque Hannibalis flagitiosum ducebat: qui ad Cannas uictor ire 4 tamen ad urbem ausus non esset, eum a Capua repulsum

5 spem potiundae urbis Romae cepisse! non ad Romam ob-
sidendam, sed ad Capuae liberandam obsidionem ire. Ro-
mam cum eo exercitu, qui ad urbem esset, Iouem foederum
ruptorum ab Hannibale testem deosque alios defensuros
6 esse. has diuersas sententias media sententia P. Valerii
Flacci uicit, qui utriusque rei memor imperatoribus, qui
ad Capuam essent, scribendum censuit, quid ad urbem prae-
sidii esset; quantas autem Hannibal copias duceret aut
quanto exercitu ad Capuam obsidendam opus esset, ipsos
7 scire. si ita Romam e ducibus alter et exercitus pars mitti
posset, ut ab reliquo et duce et exercitu Capua recte obsi-
8 deretur, inter se compararent Claudius Fuluiusque, utri obsi-
denda Capua, utri ad prohibendam obsidione patriam Romam
9 ueniundum esset. hoc senatus consulto Capuam perlato
Q. Fuluius proconsul, cui. collega ex uulnere aegro, digre-
diundum Romam erat, e tribus exercitibus milite electo, ad
quindecim milia peditum, mille equites Vulturum traducit.
10 inde cum Hannibalem Latina uia iturum satis comperisset,
ipse per Appiae municipia quaeque propter eam uiam sunt,
11 Setiam, Coram, Lauinium praemisit, ut commeatus paratos
et in urbibus haberent et ex agris deuus in uiam proferrent
praesidiaque in urbis contraherent, ut sua cuique res publica
in manu esset.

1 IX. Hannibal quo die Vulturum est transgressus, haud
2 procul a flumine castra posuit; postero die praeter Cales in
agrum Sidicinum peruenit. ibi diem unum populando
moratus per Suessanum Allifanumque et Casinatem agrum
uia Latina ducit. sub Casino biduo statua habita et passim
3 populationes factae. inde praeter Interamnam Aquinumque
in Fregellanum agrum ad Lirim fluuium uentum, ubi inter-
cisum pontem a Fregellanis morandi itineris causa inuenit.
4 et Fuluium Vulturum tenuerat annis nauibus ab Hannibale
incensis ratis ad traiciendum exercitum in magna inopia
5 materiae aegre comparantem. traiecto ratibus exercitu reli-

cum Fulvio expeditum iter non per urbis modo sed circa
 uiam expositis benigne commeatibus erat, alacresque milites
 alius alium, ut adderet gradum memor ad defendendam iri
 patriam, hortabantur. Romam Fregellanus nuntius diem 6
 noctemque itinere continuato ingentem attulit terrorem;
 tumultuosius, quam *quod* allatum erat. concursus hominum
 adfingentium uana auditis totam urbem concitat. ploratus 7
 mulierum non ex priuatis solum domibus exaudiebatur, sed
 undique matronae in publicum effusae circa deum delubra
 discurrunt. crinibus passis aras uerrentes, nixae genibus,
 supinas manus ad caelum ac deos tendentes orantesque, ut 8
 urbem Romanam e manibus hostium eriperent matresque
 Romanas et liberos paruos inuiolatos seruarent. senatus 9
 magistratibus in foro praesto est, si quid consulere uelint.
 alii accipiunt imperia disceduntque ad suas quisque officiorum
 partis. alii offerunt se, si quo usus operae sit. praesidia in
 arce, in Capitolio, in muris, circa urbem, in monte etiam
 Albano atque arce Aefulana ponuntur. inter hunc tumult- 10
 um Q. Fuluius proconsulem profectum cum exercitu Capua
 adfertur: cui ne minueretur imperium, si in urbem uenisset,
 decernit senatus, ut Q. Fuluius par cum consulibus imperium
 esset. Hannibal infestius perpopulato agro Fregellano 11
 propter intercisos pontis, per Frusinatem Ferentinatempque
 et Anagninum agrum in Labicanum uenit. inde Algidus 12
 Tusculum petiit, nec receptus moenibus infra Tusculum
 dextrorsus Gabios descendit. inde in Pupiniam exercitu
 demisso octo milia passuum ab Roma posuit castra. quo 13
 propius hostis accedebat, eo maior caedes fiebat fugientium
 praecedentibus Numidis, pluresque omnium generum atque
 aetatium capiebantur.

X. In hoc tumultu Fuluius Flaccus porta Capena cum 1
 exercitu Romam ingressus media urbe per Carinas Esquilias
 contendit: inde egressus inter Esquilinam Collinamque
 portam posuit castra. aediles plebis commeatum eo con- 2

portarunt. consules senatusque in castra venerunt. ibi de summa re publica consultatum. placuit consules circa portas Collinam Esquilinamque ponere castra, C. Calpurnium praetorem urbanum Capitolio atque arci praesse et senatum frequentem in foro contineri, si quid in tam subitis rebus consulto opus esset.

3 Inter haec Hannibal ad Anienem fluvium tria milia passuum ab urbe castra admovit. ibi statuis positis ipse cum duobus milibus equitum ad portam Collinam usque ad Herculis templum est progressus atque, unde proxime poterat, moenia situmque urbis obequitans contemplabatur.

4 id eum tam licenter atque otiose facere Flacco indignum visum est; itaque immisit equites summouerique atque in castra

5 redigi hostium equitatum iussit. cum commissum proelium esset, consules transfugas Numidarum, qui tum in Aventino ad mille et ducenti erant, media urbe transire Esquilias inserunt, nullos aptiores inter conualles tectaque hortorum et sepulera et cauas undique vias ad pugnandum futuros rati.

6 quos cum ex arce Capitolioque cliuo Publicio in equis decurrentis quidam uidissent, captum Aventinum conclamauerunt.

7 ea res tantum tumultum ac fugam praebuit, ut, nisi castra Punica extra urbem fuissent, effusura se omnis pauida multitudo fuerit: tunc in domos atque in tecta refugiebant vagosque

8 in viis suos *pro* hostibus lapidibus telisque incessebant. nec comprimi tumultus aperiri error poterat refertis itineribus agrestium turba pecorumque, quae repentinus pavor in urbem

9 compulerat. equestre proelium secundum fuit, summotique hostes sunt. et quia multis locis comprimendi tumultus erant, qui temereoriebantur, placuit omnes, qui dictatores, consules censorsue fuissent, cum imperio esse, donec recessisset a muris hostis. et diei quod relicum fuit et nocte in-

10 sequenti multi temere excitati tumultus sunt compressique.

1 XI. Postero die transgressus Anienem Hannibal in aciem omnis copias eduxit; nec Flaccus consulesque certamen

detrectauere. instructis utrimque exercitibus in eius pugnae 2
casum, in qua urbs Roma uictori praemium esset, imber
ingens grandine mixtus ita utramque aciem turbauit, ut uix
armis retentis in castra sese receperint nullius rei minore
quam hostium metu. et postero die eodem loco acies 3
instructas eadem tempestas diremit. ubi recepissent se in
castra, mira serenitas cum tranquillitate oriebatur. in re- 4
ligionem ea res apud Poenos uersa est. auditaque uox Han-
nibalis fertur, potiundae sibi urbis Romae modo mentem
non dari, modo fortunam. minuere etiam spem eius duae 5
aliae. parua magnaue, res: magna illa, quod, cum ipse ad
moenia urbis Romae armatus sederet, milites sub uexillis
in supplementum Hispaniae profectos audit: parua autem, 6
quod *per* eos dies eum forte agrum, in quo ipse castra
haberet, uenisse nihil ob id deminuto pretio cognitum ex
quodam captiuo est. id uero adeo superbum atque indignum 7
uisum, eius soli, quod ipse bello captum possideret haberet-
que, inuentum Romae emptorem, ut extemplo uocato praec-
cone tabernas argentarias, quae circa forum Romanum essent,
iusserit uenire. his motus ad Tutiam fluuium castra rettulit, 8
sex milia passuum ab urbe. inde ad lucum Feroniae pergit
ire, templum ea tempestate inclutum diuitiis. Capenates 9
aliique, *qui* accolae eius erant, primitias frugum eo donaue
alia pro copia portantes multo auro argentoque id exornatum
habebant. iis omnibus donis tum spoliatum templum,
aeris acerui, cum rudera milites religione inducti iacerent,
post profectionem Hannibalis magni inuenti. huius popu- 10
latio templi haud dubia inter scriptores est. Coelius Roman-
euntem ab Ereto deuertisse eo Hannibalem tradit iterque
eius ab Reate Cutilisque et ab Amiterno orditur; ex Cam- 11
pania in Samnium, inde in Paelignos peruenisse praeterque
oppidum Sulmonem in Marrucinos transisse, inde Albensi
agro in Marsos, hinc Amiternum Forulosque uicem uenisse,
neque ibi error est, quod tanti *ducis tantique* exercitus 12

uestigia intra tam brevis aevi memoriam potuerint confundi
13 —isse enim ea constat—, tantum id interest, ueneritne eo
itinere ad urbem. an ab urbe in Campaniam redierit.

1 XII. Ceterum non quantum Romanis pertinaciae ad pre-
mendam obsidione Capuam fuit, tantum ad defendendam
2 Hannibali. namque *per Samnium* et Lucanos in Bruttium
agrum ad fretum ac Regium eo cursu contendit. ut prope
3 repentino aduentu incautos oppresserit. Capua etsi nihilo
segnius obsessa per eos dies fuerat, tamen aduentum Flacci
sensit, et admiratio orta est non simul regressum Hanni-
4 balem. inde per colloquia intellexerunt relictos se desertos-
que et spem Capuae retinendae deploratam apud Poenos
5 esse. accessit edictum proconsulis ex senatus consulto pro-
positum uulgatumque apud hostis, ut qui ciuis Campanus
6 ante certam diem transisset, sine fraude esset. nec ulla
facta est transitio metu magis eos quam fide continente,
quia maiora in defectione deliquerant, quam quibus ignosci
7 posset. ceterum quem ad modum nemo priuato consilio
ad hostem transibat. ita nihil salutare in medium consule-
8 batur. nobilitas rem publicam deseruerant neque in sena-
tum cogi poterant : in magistratu erat, qui non sibi honorem
adiecisset, sed indignitate sua uim ac ius magistratui. quem
9 gerebat, dempsisset : iam ne in foro quidem aut publico loco
principum quisquam apparebat, domibus inclusi patriae
10 occasum cum suo exitio in dies expectabant ; summa curae
omnis in Bostarem Hannonemque, praefectos praesidii
Punici, uersa erat, suo, non sociorum periculo sollicitos.
11 ii conscriptis ad Hannibalem litteris non libere modo sed
etiam aspere, quibus non Capuam solam traditam in manum
hostibus, sed se quoque *et* praesidium in omnis cruciatus
12 proditos incusabant : abisse eum in Bruttios uelut auerten-
tem sese, ne Capua in oculis eius caperetur : at hercule
Romanos ne oppugnatione quidem urbis Romanae abstrahi
13 a Capua obsidenda potuisse : tanto constantiorem inimicum

Romanum quam amicum Poenum esse. si redeat Capuam bellumque omne eo uertat, et se et Campanos paratos eruptioni fore. non cum Reginis neque Tarentinis bellum 14 gesturos transisse Alpis; ubi Romanae legiones sint, ibi et Carthaginiensium exercitus debere esse. sic ad Cannas, sic ad Trasumennum rem bene gestam coeundo conferundoque cum hoste castra, fortunam temptando. in hanc senten- 15 tiam litterae conscriptae Numidis proposita mercede cum professis operam dantur. ii specie transfugarum cum ad Flaceum in castra uenissent, ut inde tempore capto abirent, famesque, quae iam diu Capuae erat, nulli non probabilem causam transitionis faceret, mulier repente Campana in 16 castra uenit, scortum transfugarum unius, indicatque imperatori Romano Numidas fraude composita transisse litterasque ad Hannibalem ferre: id unum ex iis, qui sibi rem aperuis- 17 set, arguere sese paratam esse. productus primo satis constanter ignorare se mulierem simulabat: paulatim dein conuictus ueris, cum tormenta posci et parari uideret, fassus id ita esse, litteraeque prolatae, et additum etiam indicio, 18 quod celabatur, et alios specie transfugarum Numidas uagari in castris Romanis. ii supra septuaginta comprehensi et cum 19 transfugis nouis mulcati uirgis manibusque praecisis Capuam rediguntur. conspectum tam triste supplicium fregit animos Campanorum. XIII. concursus ad curiam populi factus coegit Loesium senatum uocare: et primoribus, qui iam diu publicis consiliis aberant, propalam minabantur, nisi uenirent in senatum, circa domos eorum ituros se et in publicum omnis ui extracturos esse. is timor frequentem senatum magistratui praebuit. ibi cum ceteri de legatis 2 mittendis ad imperatores Romanos agerent, Vibius Virrius, qui defectionis auctor ab Romanis fuerat, interrogatus sententiam negat eos, qui de legatis et de pace ac deditio- 3 ne loquantur, meminisse, nec quid facturi fuerint, si Romanos in potestate habuissent, nec quid ipsis patiendum sit. ‘quid? 4

uos' inquit 'eam deditionem fore censetis. qua quondam. ut aduersus Samnites auxilium impetraremus. nos nostra
5 que omnia Romanis dedidimus? iam e memoria excessit. quo tempore et in qua fortuna a populo Romano defecerimus? iam. quem ad modum in defectione praesidium. quod poterat emitti. per cruciatum et ad contumeliam necarimus?
6 quotiens in obsidentis quam inimice eruperimus. castra oppugnarimus. Hannibalem uocauerimus ad opprimendos eos? hoc. quod recentissimum est. ad oppugnandam Ro-
7 mam hinc eum miserimus? age contra. quae illi infeste in nos fecerint. repetite. ut ex eo. quid speretis. habeatis. cum hostis alienigena in Italia esset. et Hannibal hostis. et cuncta bello arderent. omissis omnibus. omisso ipso Hannibale. ambo consules et duo consulares exercitus ad
8 Capuam oppugnandam miserunt. alterum annum circumuallatos inclusosque nos fame macerant. et ipsi nobiscum ultima pericula et grauissimos labores perpassi. circa uallum ac fossas saepe trucidati ac prope ad extremum castris exuti.
9 sed omitto haec: uetus atque usitata res est in oppugnanda hostium urbe labores ac pericula pati. illud irae atque
10 odii execrabilis *inexpiable*que indicium est: Hannibal ingentibus copiis peditum equitumque castra oppugnauit et ex parte cepit: tanto periculo nihil moti sunt ab obsidione:
11 profectus trans Vulturnum perussit Calenum agrum: nihil tanta sociorum clade auocati sunt; ad ipsam urbem Romam infesta signa ferri iussit: eam quoque tempestatem imminentem spreuerunt; transgressus Anienem amnem tria milia passuum ab urbe castra posuit. postremo ad moenia ipsa et ad portas accessit. Romam se adepturum eis. nisi
12 omitterent Capuam. ostendit: non omiserunt. feras bestias. caeco impetu ac rabie concitatas. si ad cubilia et catulos earum ire pergas. ad opem suis ferendam auertas: Romanos Roma circumsessa. coniuges. liberi. quorum ploratus hinc prope exaudiebantur. arae. foci. deum delubra. sepulcra

maiorum temerata ac uiolata a Capua non auerterunt : tanta
auditas supplicii expetendi, tanta sanguinis nostri hauriendi
est sitis. nec iniuria forsitan : nos quoque idem fecissemus. 14
si data fortuna esset. itaque quoniam aliter dis immorta-
libus est uisum, cum mortem ne recusare quidem debeam,
cruciatus contumeliasque, quas parat hostis, dum liber, dum
mei potens sum, effugere morte, praeterquam honesta, etiam
leni possum. non uidebo Ap. Claudium et Q. Fuluium 15
uictoria insolenti subnixos, neque uinctus per urbem Ro-
manam triumphi spectaculum trahar, ut deinde in carcere
*expi*rem aut *ad* palum deligatus lacerato uirgis tergo ceruicem
securi Romanae subiciam : nec dirui incendique patriam
uidebo, nec rapi ad stuprum matres Campanas uirginesque
et ingenuos pueros. Albani, unde ipsi oriundi erant, a 16
fundamentis prouerunt, ne stirpis, ne memoria originum
suarum extaret : nedum eos Capuae parsuros credam, cui
infestiores quam Carthagini sunt. itaque quibus uestrum 17
ante fato cedere, quam haec tot tam acerba uideant, in
animo est, iis apud me hodie epulae instructae parataeque
sunt. satiatis uino ciboque poculum idem, quod mihi datum 18
fuerit, circumferetur : ea potio corpus a cruciatu, animum
a contumeliis, oculos, auris a uidendis audiendisque omnibus
acerbis indignisque, quae manent uictos, uindicabit : parati
erunt, qui magno rogo in propatulo aedium accenso corpora
exanima inician. haec una uia et honesta et libera ad 19
mortem. et ipsi uirtutem mirabuntur hostes, et Hannibal
fortis socios sciet ab se desertos ac proditos esse.* XIV.
Hanc orationem Virri plures cum adsensu audierunt, quam 1
forti animo id, quod probabant, exsequi potuerunt : maior 2
pars senatus, multis saepe bellis expertam populi Romani
clementiam haud diffidentes sibi quoque placabilem fore,
legatos ad dedendam Romanis Capuam decreuerunt mise-
runtque. Vibium Virrium septem et uiginti ferme sena- 3
tores domum secuti sunt epulatique cum eo et, quantum

facere potuerant alienatis mentibus uino ab imminenti
4 sensu mali, uenenum omnes sumpserunt: inde misso con-
uiuio dextris inter se datis ultimoque complexu conlacri-
mantes suum patriaeque casum alii, ut eodem rogo crema-
5 rentur, manserunt, alii domos digressi sunt. inpletae cibis
uinoque uenae minus efficacem in maturanda morte uim
ueneni fecerunt: itaque noctem totam plerique eorum et
diei insequentis partem cum animam egissent, omnes tamen
prius, quam aperirentur hostibus portae, expirarunt.

6 Postero die porta Iouis, quae aduersus castra Romana erat,
iussu proconsulis aperta est. ea intromissa legio una et duae
7 alae cum C. Fulvio legato. is cum omnium primum arma
telaque, quae Capuae erant, ad se conferenda curasset, custodiis
ad omnis portas dispositis, ne quis exire aut emitti posset,
praesidium Punicum comprehendit, senatum Campanum in-
8 in castra ad imperatores Romanos iussit. quo cum uenissent,
extemplo iis omnibus catenae iniectae, iussique ad quaestores
deferre quod auri atque argenti haberent. auri pondo duo
milia septuaginta fuit, argenti triginta milia pondo et mille
9 ducenta. senatores quinque et uiginti Cales in custodiam,
duodetriginta Teanum missi, quorum de sententia maxime
1 descitum ab Romanis constabat. XV. de supplicio Campani
senatus haudquaquam inter Fuluium Claudiumque con-
ueniebat: facilis impetrandae ueniae Claudius, Fulvio durior
2 sententia erat. itaque Appius Romam ad senatum arbitrium
3 eius rei totum reiciebat: percunctandi etiam aequum esse
potestatem fieri patribus, num communicassent consilia cum
aliquis sociorum Latini nominis, et num ope eorum in
4 bello forent adiuti. id uero minime committendum esse
Fuluius dicere, ut sollicitarentur criminibus dubiis sociorum
fidelium animi et subicerentur indicibus, quis *neque quid*
dicerent neque quid facerent, quicquam umquam pensi
fuiisset; itaque se eam quaestionem oppressurum extin-
5 cturumque. ab hoc sermone cum digressi essent, et Appius

quamvis ferociter loquentem collegam non dubitaret tamen
litteras super tanta re ab Roma expectaturum. Fulvius, ne id 6
ipsum impedimentum incepto foret, dimittens praetorium
tribunis militum ac praefectis socium imperavit, uti duobus
milibus equitum delectis denuntiarent, ut ad tertiam bucinam
praesto essent. cum hoc equitatu nocte Teanum profectus 7
prima luce portam intrauit atque in forum perrexit; concur-
suque ad primum equitum ingressum facto magistratum
Sidicinum citari iussit imperavitque, ut produceret Cam-
panos, quos in custodia haberet. producti omnes uirgisque 8
caesi ac securi percussi. inde citato equo Cales percurrit;
ubi cum in tribunali consedisset productique Campani
deligarentur ad palum, eques citus ab Roma venit litter-
asque a C. Calpurnio praetore Fulvio et senatus consultum
trahit. murmur ab tribunali totam contionem peruasit. 9
differri rem integram ad patres de Campanis. et Fulvius
id ita esse ratus acceptas litteras neque resolutas cum
in gremio reposuisset, praconi imperavit, ut lictorem lege-
agere iuberet. ita de iis quoque, qui Calibus erant, sumptum
supplicium. tum litterae lectae senatusque consultum serum 10
ad impediendam rem actam, quae summa ope adproperata
erat, ne impediri posset. consurgentem iam Fulvium 11
Taurea Vibellius Campanus, per mediam vadens turbam,
nomine inclamavit et, cum mirabundus, quidnam sese uellet,
resedisset Flaccus, 'me quoque' inquit 'iube occidi, ut 12
gloriarı possis multo fortiorem, quam ipse es, virum abs te
occisum esse.' cum Flaccus negaret profecto satis compotem 13
mentis esse, modo prohiberi etiam se, si id uellet, senatus
consulto diceret, tum Vibellius 'quando quidem' inquit 14
'capta patria, propinquis amicisque amissis, cum ipse manu
mea coniugem liberosque interfecerim, ne quid indigni
paterentur, mihi ne mortis quidem copia eadem est, quae his
ciuibus meis, petatur a uirtute inuisae huius uitae uindicta.'
atque ita gladio, quem ueste texerat, per aduersum pectus 15

- transfixus ante pedes imperatoris moribundus proecubuit.
- 1 XVI. Quia et quod ad supplicium attinet Campanorum et
pleraque alia de Flacci unius sententia acta erant, mortuum
- 2 Ap. Claudium sub deditionem Capuae quidam tradunt. hunc
quoque ipsum Tauream neque sua sponte uenisse Cales
neque sua manu interfectum, sed cum inter ceteros ad palum
deligatus *quiritaret*, quia parum inter strepitus exaudiri
possent quae uociferabatur, silentium fieri Flaccum iussisse ;
- 3 tum Tauream illa, quae ante memorata sunt, dixisse, uirum
se fortissimum ab nequaquam pari ad uirtutem occidi ; sub
haec dicta iussu proconsulis praekonem ita pronuntiasse :
'lictor, uiro forti adde uirgas et in eum primum lege age.'
- 4 lectum quoque senatus consultum, priusquam securi feriret,
quidam auctores sunt ; sed quia adscriptum in senatus con-
sulto fuerit, si ei uideretur, integram rem ad senatum reiceret,
interpretatum esse, quid magis e re publica duceret, aesti-
mationem sibi permissam.
- 5 Capuam a Calibus reditum est, Atellaque et Calatia in
deditionem acceptae. ibi quoque in eos, qui capita rerum
- 6 erant, animaduersum. ita ad septuaginta principes senatus
interfecti, trecenti ferme nobiles Campani in carcerem con-
diti ; alii per sociorum Latini nominis urbis in custodias
dati uariis casibus interierunt ; multitudo alia ciuium
- 7 Campanorum uenum data. de urbe agroque reliqua consul-
tatio fuit, quibusdam delendam censentibus urbem prae-
ualidam, propinquam, inimicam. ceterum praesens utilitas
uicit ; nam propter agrum, quem omni fertilitate terrae satis
constabat primum in Italia esse, urbs seruata est, ut esset
- 8 aliqua aratorum sedes. urbi frequentandae multitudo incola-
rum libertinorumque et institutorum opificumque retenta ;
- 9 ager omnis et tecta publica populi Romani facta. ceterum
habitari tantum tamquam urbem Capuam frequentarique
placuit, corpus nullum ciuitatis nec senatum nec plebis con-
10 cilium nec magistratus esse : sine consilio publico, sine

imperio multitudinem, nullius rei inter se sociam, ad consensum inhabilem fore; praefectum ad iura reddenda ab Roma quotannis missuros. ita ad Capuam res compositae 11 consilio ab omni parte laudabili. seivere et celeriter in maxime noxios animaduersum; multitudo ciuium dissipata in nullam spem reditus; non sacuitum incendiis ruinisque in tecta innoxia murosque, et cum emolumento 12 quaesita etiam apud socios lenitatis species incolumitate urbis nobilissimae opulentissimaeque, cuius ruinis omnis Campania, omnes qui Campaniam circa accolunt populi ingemuissent; confessio expressa hosti, quanta uis in 13 Romanis ad expetendas poenas ab infidelibus sociis et quam nihil in Hannibale auxili ad receptos in fidem tuendos esset.

XVII. Romani patres perfuncti, quod ad Capuam attine- 1 bat, cura C. Neroni ex iis duabus legionibus, quas ad Capuam habuerat, sex milia peditum et trecentos equites, quos ipse legisset, et socium Latini nominis peditum numerum parem et octingentos equites decernunt. cum exercitum Puteolis 2 in naues inpositum Nero in Hispaniam transportauit. cum Tarraconem nauibus uenisset expositisque ibi copiis et nauibus subductis socios quoque naualis multitudinis augendae causa armasset, profectus ad Iiberum flumen 3 exercitum ab Ti. Fonteio et L. Marcio accepit. inde pergit ad hostis ire. Hasdrubal Hamilcaris ad Lapides Atros 4 castra habebat; in Ausetanis is locus est inter oppida Iliturgim et Mentissam. huius saltus fauces Nero *insedit*. *Hasdrubal*, cum in arto res esset, caduceatorem misit, qui 5 promitteret, si inde emissus foret, se omnem exercitum ex Hispania deportaturum. quam rem cum laeto animo 6 Romanus accepisset, diem posterum Hasdrubal conloquio petiuit, ut coram leges conscriberentur de tradendis arcibus urbium dieque statuenda, ad quam praesidia deducerentur, suaque omnia sine fraude Poeni deportarent. quod ubi 7

impetrauit, extemplo primis tenebris atque inde tota nocte, quod grauissimum exercitus erat, Hasdrubal quacumque
s posset euadere *e* saltu iussit. data sedulo opera est, ne multi
ea nocte exirent, ut ipsa paucitas cum ad hostem silentio
fallendum aptior tum ad euadendum per artas semitas ac
9 difficilis esset. uentum insequenti die ad conloquium est;
sed loquendo plura scribendoque dedita opera, quae in rem
10 non essent, die consumpto in posterum dilatum est. addita
11 insequens nox spatium dedit et alios emittendi. nec postero
die res finem inuenit. ita aliquot dies disceptando palam
de legibus noctesque emittendis clam e castris Carthaginien-
sibus absumptae. et postquam pars maior emissa exercitus
12 erat, iam ne iis quidem, quae ultro dicta erant, stabatur.
minusque ac minus cum timore simul fide decrecente con-
ueniebat. iam ferme pedestres omnes copiae euaserant
e saltu, cum prima luce densa nebula saltum omnem
camposque circa intexit. quod ubi sensit Hasdrubal, mittit
ad Neronem, qui in posterum diem conloquium differret:
illum diem religiosum Carthaginiensibus ad agendum quic-
13 quam rei seriae esse. ne tum quidem suspecta fraus cum
esset, data uenia eius diei, extemploque Hasdrubal cum
equitatu elephantisque castris egressus sine ullo tumultu in
14 tutum euasit. hora ferme quarta dispulsa sole nebula aperuit
15 diem, uacuaque hostium castra conspexerunt Romani. tum
demum Claudius Punicam fraudem agnoscens, ut se dolo
captum sensit, proficiscentem institit sequi paratus configere
16 acie; sed hostis detrectabat pugnam. leuia tamen proelia
inter extremum Punicum agmen praecursoresque Romanorum
fiebant.

1 XVIII. Inter haec Hispaniae populi nec qui post cladem
acceptam defecerant redibant ad Romanos, nec ulli noui
2 deficiebant. et Romae senatui populoque post receptam
Capuam non Italiae iam maior quam Hispaniae cura erat.
3 et exercitum augeri et imperatorem mitti placebat. nec tam.

quem mitterent, satis constabat. quam illud, ubi duo summi imperatores intra dies triginta cecidissent, qui in locum duorum succederet, extraordinaria cura deligendum esse. cum alii alium nominarent, postremum eo decursum est, ut 4 proconsuli creando in Hispaniam comitia haberentur; diemque comitiis consules edixerunt. primo expectauerant, ut, 5 qui se tanto imperio dignos crederent, nomina profiterentur, quae ut destituta expectatio est, redintegratus luctus acceptae cladis desideriumque imperatorum amissorum, maestitiaque 6 ciuitas, prope inops consilii, comitiorum die tamen in campum descendit; atque in magistratus uersi circumspectant ora principum aliorum alios intuentium fremuntque adeo perditas res desperatumque de re publica esse, ut nemo audeat in Hispaniam imperium accipere, cum subito P. Cornelius, 7 *P. Corneli*, qui in Hispania ceciderat, filius, quattuor et uiginti ferme annos natus, professus se petere in superiore, unde conspici posset, loco constitit. in quem postquam 8 omnium ora conuersa sunt clamore ac fauore ominati extemplo sunt felix faustumque imperium. iussi deinde 9 inire suffragium ad unum omnes non centuriae modo sed etiam homines P. Scipioni imperium esse in Hispania iusserunt. ceterum post rem actam, ut iam resederat 10 impetus animorum ardorque, silentium subito ortum et tacita cogitatio, quidnam egissent? nonne fauor plus ualuisset quam ratio? aetatis maxime paenitebat; quidam 11 fortunam etiam domus horrebant nomenque ex funestis duabus familiis in eas prouincias, ubi inter sepulera patris patrique res gerendae essent, proficiscentis. XIX. quam 1 ubi ab re tanto impetu acta sollicitudinem curamque hominum animaduertit, aduocata contione ita de aetate sua imperioque mandato et bello, quod gerendum esset, magno elatoque 2 animo disseruit, ut ardorem eum, qui resederat, excitaret rursus nouaretque et impletet homines certioris spei, quam quantam fides promissi humani aut ratio ex fiducia rerum

3 subicere solet. fuit enim Scipio non ueris tantum uirtutibus mirabilis, sed arte quoque quadam ab iuuenta in ostentationem earum compositus. pleraque apud multitudinem aut
4 ut per nocturnas uisa species aut uelut diuinitus mente monita agens, siue et ipse capti quadam superstitione animi, siue ut imperia consiliaque uelut sorte oraculi missa sine
5 cunctatione exsequerentur. ad hoc iam inde ab initio praeeparans animos. ex quo togam uirilem sumpsit. nullo die prius ullam publicam priuatamque rem egit, quam in Capitolium iret ingressusque aedem consideret et plerumque solus
6 in secreto ibi tempus tereret. hic mos. *quem* per omnem uitam seruabat. seu consulto seu temere uulgatae opinioni fidem
7 apud quosdam fecit stirpis eum diuinæ uirum esse. retulitque famam in Alexandro Magno prius uulgatam. et uanitate et fabula parem. anguis immanis concubitu conceptum. et in cubiculo matris eius uisam persaepe prodigii eius speciem interuentuque hominum euolutam repente atque
8 ex oculis elapsam. his miraculis nunquam ab ipso elusa fides est; quin potius aucta arte quadam nec abnuendi tale
9 quicquam nec palam adfirmandi. multa alia eiusdem generis. alia uera, alia adsimulata, admirationis humanae in eo iuuenē excesserant modum; quibus freta tunc ciuitas aetati haudquaquam maturae tantam rerum molem tantumque imperium permisit.

10 Ad eas copias, quas ex uetere exercitu Hispania habebat quaeque a Puteolis cum C. Nerone traiectae erant. decem milia militum et *mille* equites adduntur; et M. Iunius Silanus
11 propraetor adiutor ad res gerendas datus est. ita cum triginta nauium classe—omnes autem quinqueres erant—*ab* ostiis Tiberinis profectus praeter oram Tusci maris, Alpes atque Gallicum sinum et deinde Pyrenaei circumuectus promunturium, Emporiis, urbe Graeca—oriundi et ipsi a
12 Phocaea sunt—, copias exposuit. inde sequi nauibus iussis Tarraconem pedibus profectus conuentum omnium sociorum

—etenim legationes ad famam eius ex omni se prouincia
effuderant—habuit. naues ibi subduci iussit remissis quat- 13
tuor triremibus Massiliensium, quae officii causa ab domo
prosecutae fuerant. responsa inde legationibus suspensis 14
uarietate tot casuum dare coepit ita elato ab ingenti uirtutum
suarum fiducia animo, ut nullum ferox uerbum excideret.
ingensque omnibus, quae diceret, cum maiestas inesset tum
fides. XX. profectus ab Tarracone et ciuitates sociorum et 1
hiberna exercitus adiit conlaudauitque milites, quod duabus
tantis deinceps cladibus icti prouinciam obtinuissent nec
fructum secundarum rerum sentire hostis passi omni eis 2
Hiberum agro eos arcuissent sociosque cum fide tutati essent.
Marcium secum habebat cum tanto honore, ut facile appareret 3
nihil minus uereri quam ne quis obstaret gloriae suae. suc- 4
cessit inde Neroni Silanus, et in hiberna milites noui deducti.
Scipio omnibus, quae adeunda agendaque erant, mature
aditis peractisque Tarraconem concessit. nihilo minor fama 5
apud hostis Scipionis erat quam apud ciuis sociosque, et
diuinatio quaedam futuri, quo minus ratio timoris reddi
poterat oborti temere, maiorem inferens metum. in hiberna 6
diuersi concesserant, Hasdrubal Gisgonis usque ad Oceanum
et Gadis, Mago in mediterranea maxime supra Castulonensem
saltum; Hasdrubal Hamilearis filius proximus Hiberno circa
Saguntum hibernauit.

Aestatis eius extremo, qua capta est Capua et Scipio in 7
Hispaniam uenit, Punica classis ex Sicilia Tarentum accita
ad arcendos commeatus praesidi Romani, quod in arce 8
Tarentina erat, clauserat quidem omnis ad arcem a mari
aditus, sed adsidendo diutius artiores annonam sociis quam
hosti faciebat. non enim tantum subuehi oppidanis per 9
pacata litora apertosque portus praesidio nauium Punicarum
poterat, quantum frumenti classis ipsa turba nauali mixta
ex omni genere hominum absumebat, ut arcis praesidium 10
etiam sine inuecto, quia pauci erant, ex ante praeparato

sustentari posset, Tarentinis classicae ne inuictum quidem
11 sufficeret. tandem maiore gratia quam uenerat classis dimissa
est. annona haud multum laxauerat. quia remoto maritimo
praesidio subuehi frumentum non poterat.

1 XXI. Eiusdem aetatis exitu M. Marcellus ex Sicilia pro-
uincia cum ad urbem uenisset, a C. Calpurnio praetore
2 senatus ei ad aedem Bellonae datus est. ibi cum de rebus
ab se gestis disseruisset, questus leniter non suam magis
quam militum uicem. quod provincia confecta exercitum
deportare non licuisset, postulauit, ut triumphanti urbem
3 inire liceret. id non impetrauit. cum multis uerbis actum
esset, utrum minus conueniret, cuius nomine absentis ob res
prospere ductu eius gestas supplicatio decreta foret et dis
4 immortalibus habitus honos. ei praesenti negare triumphum,
an quem tradere exercitum successori iussissent. quod nisi
manente in provincia bello non decerneretur. eum quasi
debellato triumphare. cum exercitus testis meriti atque im-
meriti triumphum abesset. medium uisum. ut ouans urbem
5 iniret. tribuni plebis ex auctoritate senatus ad populum
tulerunt, ut M. Marcello, quo die urbem ouans iniret. im-
6 perium esset. pridie quam urbem iniret, in monte Albano
triumphauit; inde ouans multam prae se praedam in urbem
7 intulit: cum simulacro captarum Syracusarum catapultae
ballistaeque et alia omnia instrumenta belli lata et pacis
8 diuturnae regiaeque opulentiae ornamenta, argenti aerisque
fabrefacti uis, alia supellex pretiosaque uestis et multa nobilia
signa, quibus inter primas Graeciae urbes Syracusae ornatae
9 fuerant. Punicae quoque uictoriae signum octo ducti ele-
phanti. et non minimum fuere spectaculum cum coronis
aureis praecedentes Sosis Syracusanus et Moericius Hispanus.
10 quorum altero duce nocturno Syracusas introitum erat, alter
11 Nasum quodque ibi praesidii erat prodiderat. his ambobus
ciuitas data et quingena iugera agri, Sosidi in agro Syra-
cusano, qui aut regius aut hostium populi Romani fuisset. et

aedes Syracusis cuius uellet eorum, in quos belli iure animad-
uersum esset; Moerico Hispanisque, qui cum eo transierant, 12
urbs agerque in Sicilia ex iis, qui a populo Romano defecis-
sent, iussa dari. id M. Cornelio mandatum, ut, ubi ei 13
uideretur, urbem agrumque eis adsignaret. in eodem agro
Belligeni, per quem inlectus ad transitionem Moericus erat,
quadringenta iugera agri decreta. Post profectionem ex 14
Sicilia Marcelli Punica classis octo milia peditum, tria Numi-
darum equitum exposuit. ad eos Murgentia et *Ergetium*
urbes defecere. secutae defectionem earum Hybla et Macella
sunt et ignobiliores quaedam aliae. et Numidae praefecto 15
Mutinae uagi per totam Siciliam sociorum populi Romani
agros urebant. super haec exercitus Romanus iratus, partim 16
quod cum imperatore non deuectus ex provincia esset, partim
quod in oppidis hibernare uetiti erant, segni fungebantur
militia, magisque eis auctor ad seditionem quam animus
deerat. inter has difficultates M. Cornelius praetor et mili- 17
tum animos nunc consolando nunc castigando sedauit et
ciuitates omnis, quae defecerant, in dicionem redegit atque
ex iis Murgentiam Hispanis, quibus urbs agerque debebatur
ex senatus consulto, attribuit.

XXII. Consules cum ambo Apuliam provinciam haberent, 1
minusque iam terroris a Poenis et Hannibale esset, sortiri
iussi Apuliam Macedoniamque provincias. Sulpicio Mace-
donia euenit, isque Laetino successit. Fulvius Romam 2
comitiorum causa arcessitus cum comitia consulibus rogandis
haberet, praerogatiua Voturia iuniorum T. Manlium Torqua-
tum et T. Otacilium *absentem consules dixit. cum ad Manlium*, 3
qui praesens erat, gratulandi causa turba coiret, nec dubius
esset consensus populi, magna circumfusus turba ad tribunal
consulis uenit petitque, ut pauca sua uerba audiret centur- 4
iamque, quae tulisset suffragium, reuocari iuberet. erectis 5
omnibus expectatione, quidnam postulaturus esset, oculorum
ualetudinem excusauit: impudentem et gubernatorem et 6

imperatorem esse, qui, cum alienis oculis ei omnia agenda sint, postulet sibi aliorum capita ac fortunas committi. 7 proinde, si uideretur ei, redire in suffragium Voturiam iuniorum iuberet et meminisse in consulibus creandis belli, quod 8 in Italia sit, temporumque rei publicae. uixdum requiesse auris a strepitu et tumultu hostili, quo paucos ante menses inuaserint prope moenia Romana. post haec cum centuria frequens succlamasset nihil se mutare sententiae eosdemque 9 consules dicturos esse, tum Torquatus 'neque ego uestros' inquit 'mores consul ferre potero, neque uos imperium meum. redite in suffragium et cogitate bellum Punicum 10 in Italia et hostium ducem Hannibalem esse.' tum centuria et auctoritate mota uiri et admirantium circa fremitu petiit 11 a consule, ut Voturiam seniorum citaret: uelle sese cum maioribus natu conloqui et ex auctoritate eorum consules dicere. citatis Voturiae senioribus datum secreto in Ouli 12 cum iis conloquendi tempus. seniores de tribus consulendum dixerunt esse, duobus plenis iam honorum, Q. Fabio et M. Marcello, et, si utique nouum aliquem aduersus Poenos consulem creari uellent, M. Valerio Laeuino: egregie ad- 13 uersus Philippum regem terra marique rem gessisse. ita de tribus consultatione data senioribus dimissis iuniores suffragium ineunt. M. Claudium fulgentem tum Sicilia domita et M. Valerium absentis consules dixerunt. auctoritatem 14 praerogatiuae omnes centuriae secutae sunt. eludant nunc antiqua mirantis: non equidem, si qua sit sapientium ciuitas, quam docti fingunt magis quam norunt, aut principes grauiores temperantioresque a cupidine imperii aut 15 multitudinem melius moratam censeam fieri posse. centuriam uero iuniorum seniores consulere uoluisse, quibus imperium suffragio mandaret, uix ut ueri simile sit, parentium quoque hoc saeculo uilis levisque apud liberos auctoritas 1 fecit. XXIII. Praetoria inde comitia habita. P. Manlius Vulso et L. Manlius Acidinus et C. Laetorius et L. Cincius

Alimentus creati sunt. forte ita incidit, ut comitiis perfectis 2
nuntiaretur T. Otacilium, quem T. Manlio, nisi interpellatus
ordo comitiorum esset, conlegam absentem daturus fuisse
uidebatur populus, mortuum in Sicilia esse. Ludi Apol- 3
linares et priore anno fuerant et, eo anno ut fierent, referente
Calpurnio praetore, senatus decrevit, ut in perpetuum uoue-
rentur.—Eodem anno prodigia aliquot uisa nuntiataque 4
sunt. in aede Concordiae Victoria, quae in culmine erat,
fulmine icta decussaque ad Victorias, quae in antefixis erant,
haesit neque inde procidit. et Anagninae et Fregellis nuntia- 5
tum est murum portasque de caelo tactas, et in foro Suber-
tano sanguinis riuos per diem totum fluxisse, et Ereti lapidi-
bus pluuisse, et Reate mulam peperisse. ea prodigia hostiis 6
maioribus sunt procurata, et obsecratio in unum diem populo
indicta et nouendiale sacrum. —Sacerdotes publici aliquot 7
eo anno demortui sunt nouique suffecti: in locum M. Aemili
Numidae decemuirii sacrorum M. Aemilius Lepidus, in locum
M. Pomponi Mathonis pontificis C. Linus, in locum Sp.
Carnili Maximi auguris M. Seruilius. T. Otacilius Crassus
pontifex quia exacto anno mortuus erat, ideo nominatio in
locum eius non est facta. C. Claudius flamen Dialis, quod
exta perperam dederat, flamonio abiit.

XXIV. Per idem tempus M. Valerius Laevinus, temptatis 1
prius per secreta colloquia principum animis, ad indictum
ante ad id ipsum concilium Aetolorum classe expedita uenit,
ubi cum Syracusas Capuamque captam in fidem in Italia 2
Siciliamque rerum secundarum ostentasset adieciissetque iam
inde a maioribus traditum morem Romanis colendi socios, 3
ex quibus alios in ciuitatem atque aequum secum ius accepis-
sent, alios in ea fortuna haberent, ut socii esse quam ciues
mallent; Aetolos eo in maiore futuros honore, quod gentium 4
transmarinarum in amicitiam primi uenissent: Philippum 5
eis et Macedonas grauis accolas esse, quorum se uim ac
spiritus et iam fregisse et eo redacturum esse, ut non iis

modo urbibus, quas per vim ademissent Aetolis, excedant,
6 sed ipsam Macedoniam infestam habeant: et Acarnanas, quos
aegre ferrent Aetoli a corpore suo diremptos, restitutum
se in antiquam formulam iurisque ac dicionis eorum—:
7 haec dicta promissaque a Romano imperatore Scopas, qui
tum praetor gentis erat, et Dorimachus, princeps Aetolorum,
adfirmauerunt auctoritate sua, minore cum uerecundia et
maiore cum fide vim maiestatemque populi Romani extol-
8 lentes. maxime tamen spes potiundae mouebat Acarnaniae.
igitur conscriptae condiciones, quibus in amicitiam societa-
9 temque populi Romani uenirent, additumque, ut, si placeret
uellentque, eodem iure amicitiae Elei Lacedaemoniique et
Attalus et Pleuratus et Scerdilaedus essent, Asiae Attalus,
10 hi Thracum et Illyriorum reges; bellum ut extemplo Aetoli
cum Philippo terra gererent; nauibus ne minus uiginti
11 quinque quinquere milibus adiuuaret Romanus; urbium Cor-
cyrae tenus ab Aetolia incipienti solum tectaque et muri
cum agris Aetolorum, alia omnis praeda populi Romani
esset, darentque operam Romani, ut Acarnaniam Aetoli
12 haberent; si Aetoli pacem cum Philippo facerent, foederi
adscriberent ita ratam fore pacem, si Philippus arma ab
Romanis sociisque quique eorum dicionis essent abstinuisset;
13 item, si populus Romanus foedere iungeretur regi, ut caueret,
14 ne ius ei belli inferendi Aetolis sociisque eorum esset. haec
conuenerunt conscriptaque biennio post Olympiae ab Aetolis,
in Capitolio ab Romanis, ut testata sacratis monumentis
15 essent, sunt posita. morae causa fuerant retenti Romae
diutius legati Aetolorum. nec tamen impedimento id rebus
gerendis fuit: et Aetoli extemplo mouerunt aduersus Philip-
pum bellum, et Laeninus Zacynthum—parua insula est
propinqua Aetoliae, urbem unam eodem, quo ipsa est, nomine
habet—, eam praeter arcem ui cepit et Oeniadas Nasumque
16 Acarnanum captas Aetolis contribuit; Philippumque satis
implicatum bello finitimo ratus, ne Italiam Poenosque et

pacta cum Hannibale posset respicere, Corcyram ipse se recepit.

XXV. Philippo Aetolorum defectio Pellae hibernanti adlata est. itaque, quia primo uere moturus exercitum in Graeciam erat, *ut* Illyrios finitumasque eis urbes ab tergo metu quietas Macedonia haberet, expeditionem subitam in Oricinorum atque Apolloniaticum finis fecit egressosque Apolloniatas cum magno terrore ac pauore compulit intra muros. uastatis proximis Illyrici in Pelagoniam eadem celeritate uertit iter; inde Dardanorum urbem Sintiam, in Macedoniam transitum Dardanis facturam, cepit. his raptim actis memor Aetolici iunctique cum eo Romani belli per Pelagoniam et Lynceum et Bottiaeam in Thessaliam descendit

ad bellum secum aduersus Aetolos capessendum incitari posse homines credebat—et relicto ad fauces Thessaliae Perseo cum quattuor milibus armatorum ad arcendos aditu Aetolos, ipse, priusquam maioribus occuparetur rebus, in Macedoniam atque inde in Thraciam exercitum ac Maedos duxit. incurrere ea gens in Macedoniam solita erat, ubi regem occupatum externo bello ac sine praesidio esse regnum sensisset. ad frangendas igitur *uiris* uastare agros et urbem Iamphorynnam, caput arcemque Maedicae, oppugnare coepit. Scopas ubi profectum in Thraciam regem occupatumque ibi bello audiuit, armata omni iuuentute Aetolorum bellum inferre Aearnaniae parat. aduersus quos Aearnanum gens, et uiribus impar et iam Oeniadas Nasumque amissa cernens Romanaque insuper arma ingruere, ira magis instruit quam consilio bellum. coniugibus liberisque et senioribus super sexaginta annos in propinquam Epirum missis, ab quindecim ad sexaginta annos coniurant nisi uictores se non redituros: qui uictus acie excessisset, eum ne quis urbe, tecto, mensa, lare reciperet, diram execrationem in popularis, obtestationem quam sanctissimam potuerunt aduersus hospites composuerunt. precatique simul Epirotas sunt, ut, qui

suorum in acie cecidissent, eos uno tumultu contegerent
14 adicerentque humatis titulum: 'hic siti sunt Acarnanes,
qui aduersus uim atque iniuriam Aetolorum pro patria pu-
15 gnantes mortem occubuerunt.' per haec incitatis animis
castra in extremis finibus suis obuia hosti posuerunt. nun-
tiis ad Philippum missis, quanto res in discrimine esset,
omittere Philippum id, quod in manibus erat, coegerunt
bellum Iamphorynna per deditionem recepta et prospero
16 alio successu rerum. Aetolorum impetum tardauerat primo
coniurationis fama Acarnanicae, deinde auditus Philippi
17 aduentus regredi etiam in intimos coegit fines. nec Philip-
pus, quamquam, ne opprimerentur Acarnanes, itineribus
magnis ierat, ultra Diuum est progressus. inde, cum audisset
reditum Aetolorum ex Acarnania, et ipse Pellam rediit.

1 XXVI. Laeuinus ueris principio a Coreyra profectus nauibus
superato Leucata promunturio cum uenisset Naupactum.
Anticyram inde se petiturum edixit, ut praesto ibi Scopas
2 Aetolique essent. sita Anticyra est in Loeride laeua parte
3 sinum Corinthiacum intranti. breue terra iter eo, breuis
nauigatio ab Naupacto est. tertio ferme post die utrimque
oppugnari coepta est. grauior a mari oppugnatio erat, quia
et tormenta machinaeque omnis generis in nauibus erant.
et Romani inde oppugnabant. itaque intra paucos dies
recepta urbs per deditionem Aetolis traditur. praeda ex
4 pacto Romanis cessit. litterae *interea* Laeuino redditae
consulem eum absentem declaratum, et successorem uenire
P. Sulpicium. ceterum diuturno ibi morbo implicitus serius
spe omnium Romam uenit.

5 M. Marcellus cum idibus Martiis consulatum inisset, sena-
tum eo die moris modo causa habuit. professus nihil se
absente conlega neque de re publica neque de prouinciis
6 acturum. scire se frequentis Siculos prope urbem in uillis
obtrectatorum suorum esse; quibus tantum abesse ut per se
7 non liceat palam Romae crimina ficta ab inimicis uulgare, ut,

ni simularent aliquem sibi timorem absente conlega dicendi de consule esse, ipse iis extemplo daturus senatum fuerit. ubi quidem conlega uenisset, non passurum quicquam prius agi, quam ut Siculi in senatum introducantur. dilectum 8 prope a M. Cornelio per totam Siciliam habitum, ut quam plurimi questum de se Romam uenirent; eundem litteris falsis urbem inpluisse, bellum in Sicilia esse, ut suam laudem minuat. moderati animi gloriam eo die adeptus consul 9 senatum dimisit; ac prope iustitium omnium rerum futurum uidebatur, donec alter consul ad urbem uenisset. otium, ut 10 solet, excitauit plebis rumores: belli diuturnitatem et uastatos agros circa urbem, qua infesto agmine isset Hannibal, exhaustam dilectibus Italiani et prope quotannis caesos exercitus querebantur, et consules bellicosos ambo uiros 11 acrisque nimis et ferocis creatos, qui uel in pace tranquilla bellum excitare possent, nedum in bello respirare ciuitatem forent passuri.

XXVII. Interrupit hos sermones nocte, quae pridie Quin- 1 quatus fuit, pluribus simul locis circa forum incendium ortum. eodem tempore septem tabernae, quae postea quin- 2 que, et argentariae, quae nunc nouae appellantur, arsere; comprehensa postea priuata aedificia—neque enim tum basi- 3 licae erant—. comprehensae lautumiae forumque piscatorium et atrium regium. aedis Vestae uix defensa est tredecim 4 maxime seruorum opera, qui in publicum redempti ac manu missi sunt. nocte ac die continuatum incendium fuit: nec 5 ulli dubium erat humana id fraude factum esse, quod pluribus simul locis et iis diuersis, ignes coorti essent. itaque consul ex auctoritate senatus pro contione edixit, qui, 6 quorum opera id conflatum incendium, profiteretur, praemium fore libero pecuniam, seruo libertatem. eo praemio 7 inductus Campanorum Calauiorum seruus—Manus ei nomen erat—indicauit dominos et quinque praeterea iuuenes nobiles Campanos, quorum parentes a Q. Fuluius securi percussi

erant, id incendium fecisse vulgoque facturos alia, ni comprehendantur. comprehensi ipsi familiaeque eorum. et primo eleuabatur index indiciumque: pridie cum uerberibus castigatum ab dominis discessisse, per iram ac leuitatem ex re fortuita crimen commentum: ceterum ut coram coarguebantur, et quaestio ex ministris facinoris foro medio haberi coepta est, fassi omnes, atque in dominos seruosque conscios animaduersum est. indici libertas data et uiginti milia aeris.

10 Consuli Laeuino Capuam praetereunti circumfusa multitudo Campanorum est obsecrantium cum lacrimis, ut sibi Romam ad senatum ire liceret oratum, si qua misericordia tandem flecti possent, ne se ad ultimum perditum irent
11 nomenque Campanorum a Q. Flacco deleri sinerent. Flaccus sibi priuatam simultatem cum Campanis negare ullam esse: publicas inimicitias et esse et futuras, quoad eo animo esse
12 erga populum Romanum sciret. nullam enim in terris gentem esse, nullum infestiores populum nomini Romano. ideo se moenibus inclusos tenere eos, quia. si qui euasissent aliqua, uelut feras bestias per agros uagari et laniare et
13 trucidare quodcumque obuuium detur. alios ad Hannibalem transfugisse, alios ad Romam incendendam profectos. inuenturum in semusto foro consulem uestigia sceleris Campanorum. Vestae aedem petitam et aeternos ignis et
14 conditum in penetrali fatale pignus imperi Romani. se minime censere tutum esse Campanis potestatem intrandi
15 Romana moenia fieri. Laeuinus Campanos iure iurando a Flacco adactos, quinto die, quam ab senatu responsum
16 acceperant, Capuam redituros, sequi se Romam iussit. hac circumfusus multitudo, simul Siculis obuuiam egressis secutisque Romam. praebuit *speciem dolentis duarum* clarissimarum urbium excidio ac celeberrimis uiris uictos bello accusatores in urbem adducentis.

17 De re publica tamen primum ac de prouinciis ambo

consules ad senatum rettulere. XXVIII. ibi Laeuinus, quo 1
statu Macedonia et Graecia, Aetoli, Acarnanes Locrique
essent, quasque ibi res ipse egisset terra marique, exposuit:
Philippum, inferentem bellum Aetolis, in Macedoniam retro 2
ab se compulsum ad intima penitus regni abisse. legionem-
que inde deduci posse: classem satis esse ad arcendum
Italia regem. haec de se deque provincia, cui praefuerat, 3
consul; tum de provinciis communis relatio fuit. decrevere
patres, ut alteri consulum Italia bellumque cum Hannibale
provincia esset, alter classem, cui T. Otacilius praefuisset,
Siciliamque provinciam cum L. Cincio praetore obtineret.
exercitus iis duo decreti, qui in Etruria Galliaque essent: 4
eae quattuor erant legiones: urbanae duae superioris anni
in Etruriam, duae, quibus Sulpicius consul praefuisset, in
Galliam mitterentur: Galliae et legionibus praeeset, quem 5
consul, cuius Italia provincia esset, praefecisset: in Etruriam 6
C. Calpurnius post praeturam *prorogato* in annum imperio
missus. et Q. Fulvio Capua provincia decreta *prorogatum*-
que in annum imperium; exercitus civium sociorumque 7
minui iussus, ut ex duabus legionibus una legio, quinque
milia peditum et trecenti equites essent, dimissis, qui plurima 8
stipendia haberent, et sociorum septem milia peditum et
trecenti equites relinquerentur, eadem ratione stipendiorum
habita in ueteribus militibus dimittendis. Cn. Fulvio con- 9
sul superioris anni nec de provincia Apulia nec de exercitu,
quem habuerat, quicquam mutatum: tantum in annum pro-
rogatum imperium est. P. Sulpicius, conlega eius, omnem
exercitum praeter socios *naualis* iussus dimittere est. item 10
ex Sicilia exercitus, cui M. Cornelius praeeset, ubi consul
in provinciam uenisset, dimitti iussus. L. Cincio praetori 11
ad obtinendam Siciliam Cannenses milites dati duarum
instar legionum. totidem legiones in Sardiniam P. Manlio 12
Vulsoni praetori decretae, quibus L. Cornelius in eadem
provincia priore anno praefuerat. urbanas legiones ita scribere 13

consules iussi, ne quem militem facerent, qui in exercitu M. Claudii, M. Valerii, Q. Fului fuisset, neue eo anno plures quam una et uiginti Romanae legiones essent.

- 1 XXIX. His senatus consultis perfectis sortiti prouincias
consules. Sicilia et classis Marcello, Italia cum bello aduer-
2 sus Hannibalem Laeuino euenit. quae sors, uelut iterum
captis Syracusis, ita exanimauit Siculos expectatione sortis
in consulum conspectu stantis, ut comploratio eorum flebi-
lesque uoces et extemplo oculos hominum conuerterint et
3 postmodo sermones praeberint. circumibant enim sena-
torum *domos* cum ueste sordida adfirmantes se non modo
suam quosque patriam sed totam Siciliam relicturos, si eo
4 Marcellus iterum cum imperio redisset. nullo suo merito
cum ante implacabilem in se fuisse: quid iratum, quod
Romam de se questum uenisse Siculos sciat, facturum!
obruui Aetnae ignibus aut mergi freto satius illi insulae esse
5 quam uelut dedi noxae inimico. hae Siculorum querellae
domos primum nobilium circumlatae celebrataeque sermoni-
bus, quos partim misericordia Siculorum partim inuidia Mar-
6 celli excitabat, in senatum etiam peruenerunt. postulatam
a consulibus est, ut de permutandis prouinciis senatum con-
sulerent. Marcellus, si iam auditi ab senatu Siculi essent,
7 aliam forsitan futuram fuisse sententiam suam dicere: nunc,
ne quis timore frenari eos dicere possit, quo minus de eo
libere querantur, in cuius potestate mox futuri sint, si con-
legae nihil intersit, mutare se prouinciam paratum esse.
8 deprecari senatus praeiudicium: nam cum extra sortem
conlegae optionem dari prouinciae inicum fuerit, quanto
maiores iniuriam, immo contumeliam esse, sortem suam ad
9 eum transferri? ita senatus, cum, quid placeret, magis
ostendisset quam decresset, dimittitur. inter ipsos consules
permutatio prouinciarum, rapiente fato Marcellum ad Han-
10 nibalem, facta est, ut, ex quo primus post aduersa *omnia*
secundae pugnae gloriam ceperat, in eius laudem postremus

Romanorum imperatorum, prosperis tum maxime bellicis rebus, caderet.

XXX. Permutatis prouinciis Siculi in senatum introducti 1 multa de Hieronis regis fide perpetua erga populum Romanum uerba fecerunt in gratiam publicam auertentes; Hieronymum ac postea Hippocraten atque Epicyden tyrannos cum ob alia tum propter defectionem ab Romanis ad Hannibalem inuisos fuisse sibi. ob eam causam et Hieronymum a principibus iuuentutis prope publico consilio interfectum. et in Epicydis Hippocratisque caedem septuaginta nobilissimorum iuuenum coniurationem factam; quos Marcelli mora destitutos. quia ad praedictum tempus exercitum ad Syracusas non admouisset, indicio facto omnis ab tyrannis interfectos. eam quoque Hippocratis et Epicydis tyrannidem Marcellum excitasse Leontinis crudeliter direptis. numquam deinde principes Syracusanorum desisse ad Marcellum transire pollicerique se urbem. cum uellet. ei tradituros; sed eum primo ui capere maluisse; dein. cum id neque terra neque mari omnia expertus potuisset. auctores traditarum Syracusarum fabrum aerarium Sosim et Moericum Hispanum quam principes Syracusanorum habere. totiens id nequiquam ultro offerentis. praeoptasse. quo scilicet iustiore de causa uetustissimos socios populi Romani trucidaret ac diriperet. si non Hieronymus ad Hannibalem 7 defecisset. sed populus Syracusanus et senatus. si portas Marcello Syracusani publice et non oppressis Syracusanis tyranni eorum Hippocrates et Epicydes clausissent. si Carthaginiensium animis bellum cum populo Romano gessissent. quid ultra quam quod fecerit. nisi ut deleret Syracusas. 8 facere hostiliter Marcellum potuisse? certe praeter moenia 9 et tecta exhausta urbis et refracta ac spoliata deum delubra. dis ipsis ornamentisque eorum ablatis. nihil relictum Syracusis esse. bona quoque multis adempta. ita ut ne nudo 10 quidem solo. reliquiis direptae fortunae. alere sese ac suos

possent. orare se patres conscriptos, ut, si nequeant omnia, saltem quae compareant cognoscique possint, restitui dominis
11 iubeant. talia conquestos cum excedere ex templo, ut de
12 postulatis eorum patres consuli possent, Laeuinus iussisset, ‘maneant immo,’ inquit Marcellus, ‘ut coram iis respondeam, quando ea condicione pro uobis, patres conscripti, bella gerimus, ut uictos armis accusatores habeamus, duae captae hoc anno urbes, Capua Fuluium reum, Marcellum
1 Syracusae habeant.’ XXXI. reductis in curiam legatis tum consul ‘non adeo maiestatis’ inquit ‘populi Romani imperique huius oblitus sum, patres conscripti, ut, si de meo crimine ambigeretur, consul dicturus causam accusantibus
2 Graecis fuerim. sed non quid ego fecerim in disquisitionem uenit,—nam quidquid in hostibus feci ius belli defendit—, sed quid isti pati debuerint. qui si non fuerunt hostes, nihil interest, nunc an uiuo Hierone Syracusas uiolauerim.
3 sin autem descuerunt a populo Romano, legatos nostros ferro atque armis petierunt, urbem ac moenia clauserunt, exercituque Carthaginensium aduersus nos tutati sunt, quis passos
4 esse hostilia, cum fecerint, indignatur? tradentis urbem principes Syracusanorum auersatus sum; Sosim et Moericum Hispanum, quibus tantam *rem* crederem, potiores habui. non estis extremi Syracusanorum, quippe qui aliis
5 humilitatem obiciatis: quis est uestrum, qui se mihi portas aperturum, qui armatos milites meos in urbem accepturum promiserit? odistis et exsecramini eos, qui fecerunt, et ne hic quidem contumeliis in eos dicendis parcitis: tantum
6 abest, ut et ipsi tale quicquam facturi fueritis. ipsa humilitas eorum, patres conscripti, quam isti obiciunt, maximo argumento est me neminem, qui nauatam operam rei
7 publicae nostrae uellet, auersatum esse. et antequam obiderem Syracusas, nunc legatis mittendis nunc ad conloquium eundo temptaui pacem; et posteaquam neque legatos uiolandi uerecundia erat, nec mihi ipsi congresso ad portas

cum principibus responsum dabatur, multis terra marique exhaustis laboribus tandem vi atque armis Syracusas cepi. quae captis acciderint, apud Hannibalem et Carthaginienses 8 uictos iustius quam apud uictoris populi senatum quererentur. ego, patres conscripti, Syracusas spoliatas si negaturus essem, numquam spoliis earum urbem Romam exornarem. quae autem singulis uictor aut ademi aut dedi, cum belli iure tum ex cuiusque merito satis scio me fecisse. ea nos rata habeatis, patres conscripti, necne, magis rei 10 publicae interest quam mea. quippe mea fides exsoluta est; ad rem publicam pertinet, ne acta mea rescindendo alios in posterum segniores duces faciat. et quoniam coram 11 et Siculorum et mea uerba audistis, patres conscripti, simul templo excedemus, ut me absente liberius consuli senatus possit. ita dimissi Siculi, et ipse in Capitolium ad dilectum discessit. XXXII. consul alter de postulatis Siculorum 1 ad patres rettulit. ibi cum diu sententiis certatum esset, et magna pars senatus, principe eius sententiae T. Manlio Torquato, cum tyrannis bellum gerendum fuisse censerent, 2 hostibus et Syracusanorum et populi Romani, et urbem recipi, non capi, et receptam legibus antiquis et libertate stabiliri, non fessam miseranda seruitute bello adfligi: inter 3 tyrannorum et ducis Romani certamina praemium uictoris in medio positam urbem pulcherrimam ac nobilissimam perisse, horreum atque aerarium quondam populi Romani, cuius munificentia ac donis multis tempestatibus, hoc denique ipso Punico bello adiuta ornataque res publica esset, si ab inferis existat rex Hiero, fidissimus imperi Romani 4 cultor, quo ore aut Syracusas aut Romam ei ostendi posse, cum, ubi semirutam ac spoliata patriam respexerit, ingrediens Romam in uestibulo urbis, prope in porta, spolia patriae suae uisurus sit?—haec taliaque cum ad inuidiam 5 consulis miserationemque Siculorum dicerentur, mitius tamen decreuerunt patres: acta M. Marcelli, quae is gerens 6

bellum uictorque egisset, rata habenda esse; in relicum curae senatui fore rem Syracusanam mandaturosque consuli Laeuino, ut, quod sine iactura rei publicae fieri posset, 7 fortunis eius ciuitatis consuleret. missis duobus senatoribus in Capitolium ad consulem, uti rediret in curiam. et intro- 8 ductis Siculis senatus consultum recitatum est, legatique benigne appellati ac dimissi ad genua se Marcelli consulis proiecerunt <orantes> et obsecrantes, ut, quae deplorandae ac leuandae calamitatis causa dixissent, ueniam eis daret et in fidem clientelamque se urbemque Syracusas acciperet. pollicens hoc consul elementer appellatos eos dimisit.

1 XXXIII. Campanis deinde senatus datus est, quorum 2 oratio miserabilior, causa durior erat. neque enim meritas poenas negare poterant, nec tyranni erant, in quos culpam conferrent; sed satis pensum poenarum tot ueneno absumptis, 3 tot securi percussis senatoribus credebant: paucos nobilium superesse, quos nec sua conscientia, ut quicquam de se grauius consulerent, impulerit, nec uictoris ira capitis damnauerit; eos libertatem sibi suisque et bonorum aliquam partem orare. cuius Romanos adfinitatibus plerosque et propinquis 4 etiam cognationibus ex conubio uetusto iunctos. summotis deinde e templo paulisper dubitatum, an arcessendus a Capua Q. Fuluius esset—mortuus enim post captam Claudius consul erat—, ut coram imperatore, qui res gessisset, sicut inter Marcellum Siculosque disceptatum fuerat, disceptaretur. 5 dein cum M. Atilium, C. Fuluium fratrem Flacci, legatos eius, et Q. Minucium et L. Veturium Philonem, item Claudii legatos, qui omnibus gerendis rebus adfuerant, in senatu uiderent nec Fuluium auocari a Capua nec differri Campanos 6 uellent, interrogatus sententiam M. Atilius Regulus, cuius ex iis, qui ad Capuam fuerant, maxima auctoritas erat, 7 ‘in consilio’ inquit ‘arbitror me fuisse consulibus, Capua capta cum quaereretur, ecqui Campanorum bene meritus 8 de re publica nostra esset. duas mulieres conpertum est.

Vestiam Oppiam Atellanam Capuae habitantem et Paculam Cluuiam, quae quondam quaestum corpore fecisset, illam cotidie sacrificasse pro salute et uictoria populi Romani, hanc captiuis egentibus alimenta clam suppeditasse; ceterorum omnium Campanorum eundem erga nos animum quem Carthaginiensium fuisse, securique percussos a Q. Fulvio esse magis quorum dignitas inter alios quam quorum culpa eminebat. per senatum agi de Campanis, qui ciues Romani sunt, iniussu populi non uideo posse, idque et apud maiores nostros in Satricanis factum esse, cum defecissent, ut M. Antistius tribunus plebis prius rogationem ferret, sciscereturque plebs, uti senatui de Satricanis sententiae dicendae ius esset. itaque censeo cum tribunis plebis agendum esse, ut eorum unus pluresue rogationem ferant ad plebem, qua nobis statuendi de Campanis ius fiat.' L. Atilius tribunus plebis ex auctoritate senatus plebem in haec uerba rogauit: 'omnes Campani, Atellani, Calatini, Sabatini, qui se dederunt in arbitrium dicionemque populi Romani Q. Fulvio proconsuli, quosque una secum dedidere, quaeque una secum dedidere, agrum urbemque, diuina humanaque, utensiliaque siue quid aliud dediderunt, de iis rebus quid fieri uelitis, uos rogo, Quirites.' plebs sic iussit: 'quod senatus iuratus, maxima pars, censeat, qui adsient, id uolumus iubemusque.'

XXXIV. ex hoc plebei scito senatus consultus Oppiae Cluuiaeque primum bona ac libertatem restituit: si qua alia praemia petere ab senatu uellent, uenire eas Romam. Campanis in familias singulas decreta facta, quae non operae pretium est omnia enumerare. aliorum bona publicanda, ipsos liberosque eorum et coniuges uendendas extra filias, quae enupsissent, priusquam in populi Romani potestatem uenirent; alios in uincula condendos, ac de iis posterius consulendum; aliorum Campanorum summam etiam census distinxerunt, publicanda necne bona essent. pecua captiua praeter equos et mancipia praeter puberes uirile secus et

omnia, quae solo non continerentur, restituenda censuerunt
6 dominis. Campanos omnis, Atellanos, Calatinos, Sabatinos,
extraquam qui eorum aut ipsi aut parentes eorum apud
7 hostis essent, liberos esse iusserunt ita, ut nemo eorum
cuius Romanus aut Latini nominis esset, neue quis eorum,
qui Capuae fuisset, dum portae clausae essent, in urbe agroue
Campano intra certam diem maneret, locus ubi habitarent
8 trans Tiberim, qui non contingeret Tiberim, daretur; qui
nec Capuae nec in urbe Campana, quae a populo Romano
defecisset, per bellum fuissent, eos cis Lirim amnem Romam
9 uersus, qui ad Romanos transissent, priusquam Capuam
Hannibal ueniret, cis Vulturnum emouendos censuerunt,
ne quis eorum propius mare quindecim milibus passuum
10 agrum aedificiumue haberet. qui eorum trans Tiberim
emoti essent, ne ipsi posterine eorum uspiam pararent ha-
berentue nisi in Veiente, Sutrimo Nepesinoue agro, dum ne
cui maior quam quinquaginta iugerum agri modus esset.
11 senatorum omnium quique magistratus Capuae, Atellae,
Calatiae gessissent bona uenire Capuae iusserunt, libera
corpora, quae uenum dari placuerat, Romam mitti ac Romae
12 uenire. signa, statuas aeneas, quae capta de hostibus di-
cerentur, quae eorum sacra ac profana essent, ad pontificum
13 collegium reiecerunt. ob haec decreta maestiores aliquanto,
quam Romam uenerant, Campanos dimiserunt. nec iam
Q. Fuluii saeuitiam in sese, sed iniquitatem deum atque
execrabilem fortunam suam inculpabant.

1 XXXV. Dimissis Siculis Campanisque dilectus habitus.
scripto deinde exercitu de remigum supplemento agi coe-
2 ptum; in quam rem cum neque hominum satis, nec, ex
qua pararentur stipendiumque acciperent, pecuniae quic-
quam ea tempestate in publico esset, edixerunt consules,
3 ut priuati ex censu ordinibusque, sicut antea, remiges darent
4 cum stipendio cibariisque dierum triginta. ad id edictum
tantus fremitus hominum, tanta indignatio fuit, ut magis

dux quam materia seditioni deesset: secundum Siculos Campanosque plebem Romanam perdendam lacerandamque sibi consules sumpsisse. per tot annos tributo exhaustos 5 nihil reliqui praeter terram nudam ac uastam habere. tecta hostis incendisse, seruos agri cultores rem publicam abduxisse nunc ad militiam paruo aere emendo, nunc remiges imperando; si quid cui argenti aerisue fuerit, stipendio 6 remigum et tributis annuis ablatum. se, ut dent, quod non habeant, nulla ui, nullo imperio cogi posse. bona sua uenderent, in corpora, quae relicta essent, saeuirent. ne unde redimantur quidem quicquam superesse. haec non 7 in occulto, sed propalam in foro atque oculis ipsorum consulum ingens turba circumfusi fremelant, nec eos sedare consules nunc castigando, nunc consolando poterant. spatium deinde iis tridui se dare ad cogitandum dixerunt; quo ipsi ad rem inspiciendam *et* expediendam usi sunt. senatum 8 postero die habuerunt de remigum supplemento: ubi cum multa disseruissent, cur aequa plebis recusatio esset, uerterunt orationem eo, ut dicerent priuatis id seu aequum seu iniquum onus iniungendum esse: nam unde, cum pecunia 10 in aerario non esset, paraturos naualis socios? quo modo autem sine classibus aut Siciliam obtineri aut Italia Philippum arceri posse aut tuta Italiae litora esse? XXXVI. cum in hac difficultate rerum consilium haereret, ac prope 1 torpor quidam occupasset hominum mentes, tum Laeuinus consul: magistratus senatui et senatum populo, sicut honore 2 praestent, ita ad omnia, quae dura atque aspera essent, subeunda duces debere esse. *si, quod iniungere inferiori 3 uelis, id prius in te ac tuos ipse iuris statueris, facilius omnis oboedientis habeas. nec impensa grauis est, cum *ex* ea plus quam pro uirili parte sibi quemque capere principum uident, itaque *si* classis habere atque ornare uolumus populum Ro- 4 manum, priuatos sine recusatione remiges dare, nobismet ipsis primum imperemus. aurum, argentum, *aes* signatum 5

omne senatores crastino die in publicum conferamus, ita ut anulos sibi quisque et coniugi et liberis, et filio bullam, et, quibus uxor filiaeue sunt, singulas uncias pondo auri 6 relinquant: argenti, qui curuli sella sederunt, equi ornamenta et libras pondo, ut salinum patellamque deorum causa habere possint, ceteri senatores libram argenti tantum; 7 aeris signati quina milia in singulos patres familiae relinquamus: ceterum omne aurum, argentum, aes signatum ad triumuiros mensarios extemplo deferamus nullo ante senatus consulto facto, ut uoluntaria conlatio et certamen 8 adiuuandae rei publicae excitet ad aemulandum animos primum equestris ordinis, dein relicae plebis. hanc unam uiam multa inter nos conlocuti consules inuenimus. ingredimini dis bene iuuantibus. res publica incolumis et priuatas res facile saluas praestat; publica prodendo tua nequiquam 10 serues.' in haec tanto animo consensum est, ut gratiae ultro consulibus agerentur. senatu inde misso pro se quisque aurum *et* argentum et aes in publicum conferunt tanto certamine iniecto, ut prima aut inter primos nomina sua uellent in publicis tabulis esse, ut nec triumuiro ac- 12 cipiundo nec scribae referendo sufficerent. hunc consensum senatus equester ordo est secutus, equestris ordinis plebs, ita sine edicto, sine coercitione magistratus nec remige in supplementum nec stipendio res publica eguit; paratisque omnibus ad bellum consules in prouincias profecti sunt.

1 XXXVII. Neque aliud tempus belli fuit, quo Carthaginenses Romanique pariter uariis casibus immixtis magis in 2 ancipiti spe ac metu fuerint. nam Romanis et in prouinciis. hinc in Hispania aduersae res, hinc prosperae in Sicilia 3 luctum et laetitiam miscuerant: et in Italia cum Tarentum amissum damno et dolori, tum arx cum praesidio retenta 4 praeter spem gaudio fuit; et terrorem subitum pauoremque urbis Romae obsessae et oppugnatae Capua post dies paucos 5 capta in laetitiam uertit. transmarinae quoque res quadam

uice pensatae : Philippus hostis tempore haud satis opportuno factus. Aetoli noui adsciti socii Attalusque, Asiae rex. iam uelut despondente fortuna Romanis imperium orientis. Car- 6 thaginienses quoque Capuae amissae Tarentum captum aequabant, et ut ad moenia urbis Romanae nullo prohibente se peruenisse in gloria ponebant, ita pigebat inriti incepti pudebatque adeo se spreto, ut sedentibus ipsis ad Romana moenia 7 alia porta exercitus Romanus in Hispaniam duceretur. ipsae 8 quoque Hispaniae, quo propius spem uenerant tantis duobus ducibus exercitibusque caesis debellatum ibi ac pulsos inde Romanos esse, eo plus ab L. Marcio, tumultuario duce, ad uanum et inritum uictoriam redactam esse indignationis praebebant. ita aequante fortuna suspensa omnia utrisque 9 erant integra spe, integro metu, uelut illo tempore primum bellum inciperent.

XXXVIII. Hannibalem ante omnia angebat, quod Capua 1 pertinacius oppugnata ab Romanis quam defensa ab se multorum Italiae populorum animos auerterat, quos neque 2 omnis tenere praesidiis, nisi uellet in multas paruasque partis carpere exercitum, quod minime tum expediebat, poterat, nec deductis praesidiis spei liberam uel obnoxiam timori sociorum relinquere fidem. praeceps in auaritiam et crude- 3 litatem animus ad spolianda, quae tueri nequibat, ut uastata hosti relinquerentur, inclinauit. id foedum consilium cum 4 incepto, tum etiam exitu fuit. neque enim indigna patientium modo abalienabantur animi, sed ceterorum etiam : quippe ad pluris exemplum quam *malum* pertinebat. nec consul Ro- 5 manus temptandis urbibus, sicunde spes aliqua se ostendisset, deerat. Salapiae principes erant Dasius et Blattius : Dasius 6 Hannibali amicus, Blattius, quantum ex tuto poterat, rem Romanam fouebat et per occultos nuntios spem prodicionis fecerat Marcello. sed sine adiutore Dasio res transigi non poterat. multum ac diu cunctatus, et tum quoque magis 7 inopia consilii potioris quam spe effectus, Dasium appellabat.

at ille, cum ab re auersus, tum aemulo potentatus inimicus, s rem Hannibali aperit. arcessito utroque Hannibal cum pro tribunali quaedam ageret mox de Blattio cogniturus, starent- que summoto populo accusator et reus, Blattius de proditione 9 Dasium appellabat. enimuero ille uelut in manifesta re exclamat sub oculis Hannibalis secum de proditione agi. Hannibali atque iis, qui aderant, quo audacior res erat, minus 10 similis ueri uisa est: aemulationem profecto atque odium esse, et id crimen adferri, quod, quia testem habere non possit, liberius fingenti sit. ita inde dimissi sunt. nec Blattius ante 11 abstinit tam audaci incepto, quam idem obtundendo docendoque, quam ea res ipsis patriaeque salutaris esset, peruicit, ut praesidium Punicum—*quingenti* autem Numidae erant—Salapiaque traderetur Marcello. nec sine caede multa tradi 12 potuit. longe fortissimi equitum toto Punico exercitu erant. itaque quamquam inprovisa res fuit, nec usus equorum in urbe erat, tamen armis inter tumultum captis et eruptio- 13 nem temptauerunt et, cum euadere nequirent, pugnantes ad ultimum occubuerunt, nec plus quinquaginta ex iis in 14 potestatem hostium uiui uenerunt. plusque aliquanto damni haec ala equitum amissa Hannibali quam Salapia fuit; nec deinde unquam Poenus, quo longe plurimum ualuerat, equitatu superior fuit.

1 XXXIX. Per idem tempus cum in arce Tarentina uix inopia tolerabilis esset, spem omnem praesidium, quod ibi erat, Romanum praefectusque praesidii atque arcis M. Liuius 2 in com meatibus ab Sicilia missis habebant, qui ut tuto praeterueherentur oram Italiae, classis uiginti ferme nauium 3 Regii stabat. praeerat classi com meatibusque D. Quinctius, obscuro genere ortus, ceterum multis fortibus factis militari 4 gloria inlustris. primo quinque naues, quarum maximae duae triremes, a Marcello ei traditae erant; postea rem im- 5 pigre saepe gerenti tres additae quinqueres: postremo ipse a sociis Reginisque et a Velia et a Paesto debitas ex

foedere exigendo classem uiginti nauium, sicut ante dictum
est. efficit. huic ab Regio profectae classi Democrates cum 6
pari nauium Tarentinarum numero quindecim milia ferme
ab urbe ad Sapiportem obuius fuit. uelis tum forte inpro- 7
uidus futuri certaminis Romanus ueniebat; sed circa Cro-
tonem Sybarimque supplenerat remigio nauis. instructamque
et armatam egregie pro magnitudine nauium classem habebat.
et tum forte sub idem tempus et uenti uis omnis cecidit et 8
hostes in conspectu fuere, ut ad componenda armaimenta
expediendumque remigem ac militem ad imminens certamen
satis temporis esset. raro alias tantis animis iustae concur- 9
rerunt classes, quippe cum in maioris discrimen rei, quam
ipsae erant, pugnarent: Tarentini, ut recuperata urbe ab 10
Romanis post centesimum prope annum arcem etiam libera-
rent, spe commeatus quoque hostibus, si nauali proelio posses-
sionem maris ademissent, interclusuros; Romani, ut retenta 11
possessione arcis ostenderent non ui ac uirtute, sed proditione
ac furto Tarentum amissum. itaque ex utraque parte signo 12
dato cum rostris concurrissent neque retro nauem inhiherent
nec dirimi ab se hostem paterentur, quam quis indeptus
nauem erat ferrea iniecta manu, ita conserebant ex propinquo
pugnam, ut non missilibus tantum, sed gladiis etiam prope
conlato pede gereretur res. prorae inter se iunctae haere- 13
bant, puppes alieno remigio circumagebantur. ita in arto
stipatae erant naues, ut uix ullum telum in mari uanum
intercideret: frontibus uelut pedestris acies urgebant, per-
uiaequae naues pugnantibus erant. insignis tamen inter 14
ceteras pugna fuit duarum, quae primae agminum concur-
rerant inter se. in Romana naue ipse Quinctius erat, in 15
Tarentina Nico, cui Perconi fuit cognomen, non publico
modo sed priuato etiam odio inuisus atque infestus Romanis,
quod eius factionis erat, quae Tarentum Hannibali prodiderat.
hic Quinctium simul pugnantem hortantemque suos incau- 16
tum hasta transfigit, atque ille praeceps cum armis procidit

17 ante proram. uictor Tarentinus in turbatam duce amisso
nauem inpigre transgressus cum summouisset hostis, et
prora iam Tarentinorum esset, puppim male conglobati
tuerentur Romani, repente et alia a puppe triremis hostium
18 apparuit. ita in medio circumuenta Romana nauis capitur.
hinc ceteris terror iniectus, ubi praetoriam nauem captam
uidere; fugientesque passim aliae in alto mersae, aliae in
terram remis abreptae mox praedae fuere Thurinis Meta-
19 pontinisque. ex onerariis, quae cum commeatu sequebantur,
perpaucae in potestatem hostium uenere, aliae ad incertos
uentos hinc atque illinc obliqua transferentes uela in altum
20 euectae sunt. nequaquam pari fortuna per eos dies Tarenti
res gesta. nam ad quattuor milia hominum frumentatum
21 egressa cum in agris passim uagarentur, Liuius, qui arci
praesidioque Romano praeerat, intentus in omnis occasiones
gerendae rei C. Persium, inpigrum uirum, cum duobus
22 milibus et *quingentis* armatorum ex arce emisit. qui uage
effusos per agros palatosque adortus cum diu passim
cecidisset. paucos ex multis trepida fuga incidentis semi-
apertis portarum foribus in urbem compulit, nec *multum*
23 *afuit*, quin urbs eodem impetu caperetur. ita aequatae res
ad Tarentum, Romanis uictoribus *terra*, *Tarentinis* mari.
frumenti spes, quae in oculis fuerat, utrosque frustrata pariter.

1 XL. Per idem tempus Laeuinus consul, iam magna
parte anni circumacta, in Siciliam ueteribus nouisque sociis
expectatus cum uenisset, primum ac potissimum omnium
2 ratus Syracusis noua pace inconditas componere res; Agri-
gentum inde, quod belli relicum erat tenebaturque a
Carthaginiensium ualido praesidio, duxit legiones. et adfuit
3 fortuna incepto. Hanno erat imperator Carthaginiensium,
sed omnem in Muttine Numidisque spem repositam habe-
4 bant. per totam Siciliam uagus praedas agebat ex sociis
Romanorum neque intercludi ab Agrigento ui aut arte ulla
5 nec, quin erumperet, ubi uellet, prohiberi poterat. haec eius

gloria quia iam imperatoris quoque famae officiebat, postremo in inuidiam uertit, ut ne bene gestae quidem res iam Hannoni propter auctorem satis laetae essent. postremo 6 praefecturam eius filio suo dedit, ratus cum imperio auctoritatem quoque ei inter Numidas erepturum, quod longe aliter 7 euenit : nam ueterem fauorem eius sua insuper inuidia auxit, neque ille indignitatem iniuriae tulit confestimque ad Laeuinum occultos nuntios misit de tradendo Agrigento, per quos ut est facta fides compositusque rei gerendae modus, 8 portam ad mare ferentem Numidae cum occupassent pulsus inde custodibus aut caesis, Romanos ad *id* ipsum missos in urbem acceperunt. et cum agmine iam in media urbis 9 ac forum magno tumultu iretur, ratus Hanno non aliud quam tumultum ac secessionem, id quod et ante acciderat, Numidarum esse ad comprimendam seditionem processit, atque ille, cum ei multitudo maior quam Numidarum procul 10 uisa, et clamor Romanus haudquaquam ignotus ad auris accidisset, priusquam ad ictum teli ueniret, cepisset fugam, per auersam portam emissus adsumpto comite Epicyde cum 11 paucis ad mare peruenit, naetique opportune paruum nauigium, relictis hostibus Sicilia, de qua per tot annos certatum erat, in Africam traiecerunt. alia multitudo Poenorum Siculo 12 rumque ne temptato quidem certamine cum caeci in fugam ruerent, clausique exitus essent, circa portas caesa. oppido 13 recepto Laeuinus, qui capita rerum Agrigenti erant, uirgis caesos securi percussit, ceteros praedamque uendidit ; omnem pecuniam Romam misit. fama Agrigentinarum cladis Sici- 14 liam cum peruasisset, omnia repente ad Romanos inclinauerunt. prodita breui sunt uiginti oppida, sex ui capta, uoluntaria deditione in fidem uenerunt ad quadraginta, quarum ciuitatum principibus cum pro cuiusque merito 15 consul pretia poenasque exsoluisset coegissetque Siculos positos tandem armis ad agrum colendum animos conuertere, ut esset non incolarum modo alimentis frugifera insula, sed 16

urbis Romae atque Italiae, id quod multis saepe tempestatibus fecerat, annonam leuaret, ab Agathyrna inconditam
17 multitudinem secum in Italiam transuexit. quattuor milia hominum erant, mixti ex omni conluuione, exules, obaerati, capitalia ausi plerique, cum in ciuitatibus suis ac sub legibus uixerant, et postquam eos ex uariis causis fortuna similis conglobauerat Agathyrnam, per latrocinia ac rapinas toler-
18 antes uitam. hos neque relinquere Laeuinus in insula tum primum noua pace coalescente uelut materiam nouandis rebus satis tutum ratus est, et Reginis usui futuri erant ad populandum Bruttium agrum adsuetam latrociniiis quarentibus manum. et quod ad Siciliam attinet, eo anno debellatum est.

1 XLI. In Hispania principio ueris P. Scipio nauibus deductis euocatisque edicto Tarraconem sociorum auxiliis classem onerariasque ostium inde Hiberi fluminis petere
2 iubet. eodem legiones ex hibernis conuenire cum iussisset, ipse cum quinque milibus sociorum ab Tarracone profectus ad exercitum est. quo cum uenisset, adloquendos maxime ueteres milites, qui tantis superfuerunt cladibus, ratus con-
3 tione aduocata ita disseruit: 'nemo ante me nouus imperator militibus suis, priusquam opera eorum usus esset, gratias agere
4 iure ac merito potuit; me uobis, priusquam prouinciam aut castra uiderem, obligauit fortuna, primum quod ea pietate erga patrem patruumque meum uiuos mortuosque fuistis,
5 deinde quod amissam tanta clade prouinciae possessionem integram et populo Romano et successori mihi uirtute uestra
6 obtinuistis. sed cum iam benignitate deum id paremus atque agamus, non ut ipsi maneamus in Hispania, sed ne Poeni maneant, nec ut pro ripa Hiberi stantes arceamus transitu
7 hostes, sed ut ultro transeamus transferamusque bellum, uereor, ne cui uestrum maius id audaciusque consilium quam aut pro memoria cladum nuper acceptarum aut pro aetate
s mea uideatur. aduersae pugnae in Hispania nullius in animo

quam meo minus obliterari possunt, quippe cui pater et patruus intra triginta dierum spatium, ut aliud super aliud cumlaretur familiae nostrae funus, interfecti sunt; sed ut 9 familiaris paene orbitas ac solitudo frangit animum, ita publica cum fortuna tum uirtus desperare de summa rerum prohibet. ea fato quodam data nobis sors est, ut magnis omnibus bellis 10 uicti uicerimus. uetera omitto. Porsinam, Gallos, Samnites; a Punicis bellis incipiam. quot classes, quot duces, quot exercitus priore bello amissi sunt! iam quid hoc bello 11 memorem? omnibus aut ipse adfui cladibus aut, quibus afui, maxime unus omnium eas sensi. Trebia, Trasumennus, Cannae quid aliud sunt quam monumenta occisorum exercituum consulumque Romanorum? adde defectionem Italiae, 12 Siciliae maioris partis, Sardiniae: adde ultimum terrorem ac pauorem, castra Punica inter Anienem ac moenia Romana posita et uisum prope in portis uictorem Hannibalem: in hac ruina rerum stetit una integra atque immobilis uirtus populi Romani, haec omnia strata humi erexit ac sustulit, uos omnium primi, milites, post Cannensem cladem uadenti 13 Hasdrubali ad Alpis Italianaque, qui si se cum fratre coniunxisset, nullum iam nomen esset populi Romani, ductu auspicioque patris mei obstitistis; et hae secundae res illas aduersas sustinuerunt. nunc benignitate deum omnia se- 14 cunda, prospera, in dies laetiora ac meliora in Italia Siciliaque geruntur; in Sicilia Syracusae, Agrigentum captum, 15 pulsae tota insula hostes receptaque prouincia in ditione populi Romani est: in Italia Arpi recepti, Capua capta: iter 16 omne ab urbe Roma trepida fuga emensus Hannibal, in extremum angulum agri Bruttii compulsus, nihil iam maius precatur deos, quam ut incolumi cedere atque abire ex hostium terra liceat. quid igitur minus conueniat, milites, 17 quam, cum aliae super alias clades cumlarentur, ac di prope ipsi cum Hannibale starent, uos hic cum parentibus meis — aequentur enim etiam honore nominis — sustinuisse labantem

fortunam populi Romani, nunc eosdem, cum illic omnia
 18 secunda laetaque sunt, animis deficere? nuper quoque *quar*
 acciderunt, utinam tam sine meo luctu quam (sine insanabili
 rei publicae detrimento accidissent.) nunc dii immortales
 imperi Romani praesides, qui centuriis omnibus, ut mihi
 imperium iuberent dari, fuere auctores, iidem auguriis auspi-
 ciisque et per nocturnos etiam visus omnia laeta ac prospera
 19 portendunt. animus quoque meus, maximus mihi ad hoc
 tempus uates, praesagit nostram Hispaniam esse, breui
 extorre hinc omne Punicum nomen maria terrasque foeda
 20 fuga impleturum. quod mens sua sponte diuinat, idem sub-
 icit ratio haud fallax. uexati ab iis socii nostram fidem per
 legatos implorant, tres duces discordantes, prope ut defecerint
 alii ab aliis, trifariam exercitum in diuersissimas regiones
 21 distraxere: eadem in illos ingruit fortuna, quae nuper nos
 afflixit: nam et deseruntur ab sociis, ut prius ab Celtiberis
 nos, et diduxere exercitus, quae patri patruoque meo causa
 22 exitii fuit. nec discordia intestina coire eos in unum sinet.
 neque singuli nobis resistere poterunt. uos modo, milites,
 fauete nomini Scipionum, suboli imperatorum uestrorum
 23 uelut accisis recrescenti stirpibus, agite, ueteres milites,
 nouum exercitum nouumque ducem traducite Hiberum.
 traducite in terras cum multis fortibus factis saepe a uobis
 24 peragratas. breui faciam, ut, quem ad modum nunc nosci-
 tatis in me patris patruique similitudinem oris uultusque et
 25 lineamenta corporis, ita ingeni, fidei uirtutisque effigiem
 uobis reddam, ut reuixisse aut renatum sibi quisque Sci-
 pionem imperatorem dicat.'

1 XLII. Hac oratione accensis militum animis, relicto ad
 praesidium regionis eius M. Silano cum tribus milibus
 peditum et trecentis equitibus, ceteras omnes copias – erant
 autem uiginti quinque milia peditum, duo milia quingenti
 2 equites Hiberum traiecit. ibi quibusdam suadentibus, ut,
 quoniam in tris tam diuersas regiones discessissent Punici

exercitus, proximum adgrederetur. periculum esse ratus. ne eo facto in unum omnes contraheret, nec par esset unus tot exercitibus, Carthaginem Novam interim oppugnare statuit, urbem cum ipsam opulentam suis opibus, tum hostium omni 3 bellico apparatu plenam—ibi arma, ibi pecunia, ibi totius Hispaniae obsides erant—, sitam praeterea cum opportune ad 4 traiciendum in Africam, tum super portum satis amplum quantaevīs classi et nescio an unum in Hispaniae ora, qua nostro adiacet mari. nemo omnium, quo iretur, sciebat 5 praeter C. Laelium. is classe circummissus ita moderari cursum navium iussus erat, ut eodem tempore Scipio ab terra exercitum ostenderet et classis portum intraret. septimo 6 die ab Hiberno Carthaginem ventum est simul terra marique. castra ab regione urbis, qua in septemtrionem versa est, posita: his ab tergo—nam frons natura tuta erat—duplex uallum obiectum. etenim sita Carthago sic est: sinus est 7 maris media fere Hispaniae ora, maxime Africo vento oppositus, *ad duo milia* et quingentos passus introrsus retractus, paulo plus *mille et ducentos* passus in latitudinem patens. huius in ostio sinus parva insula obiecta ab alto portum ab 8 omnibus ventis praeterquam Africo tutum facit. ab intumo sinu paeninsula excurrit, tumulus is ipse, in quo condita urbs est, ab ortu solis et a meridie cincta mari; ab occasu stagnum claudit paulum etiam ad septemtrionem fusum. incertae altitudinis utrumque exaestuatur aut deficit mare. continenti urbem iugum ducentos fere et quinquaginta passus 9 patens coniungit. unde cum tam parvi operis munitio esset, non obiecit uallum imperator Romanus, seu fiduciam hosti 10 superbe ostentans, siue ut subeunti saepe ad moenia urbis recursus pateret. XLIII. cetera, quae munienda erant, cum 1 perfecisset, naues etiam in portu, uelut maritimam quoque ostentans obsidionem, instruxit; circumuectusque classem cum monuisset praefectos navium, ut uigilias nocturnas intenti seruarent, omnia ubique primo obsessum hostem

2 conari, regressus in castra, ut consili sui rationem, quod ab
urbe potissimum oppugnanda bellum orsus esset. militibus
ostenderet et spem potiundae cohortando faceret, contione
3 aduocata ita disseruit: 'ad urbem unam oppugnandam si
quis uos adductos credit, is magis operis uestri quam emo-
lumentum rationem exactam, milites, habet. oppugnabitis enim
uere moenia unius urbis, sed in una urbe uniuersam ceperitis
4 Hispaniam. hic sunt obsides omnium nobilium regum
populorumque: qui simul in potestate uestra erunt, extemplo
omnia, quae nunc sub Carthaginiensibus sunt, in dicionem
5 tradent; hic pecunia omnis hostium, sine qua neque illi
gerere bellum possunt, quippe qui mercenarios exercitus
alant, et quae nobis maximo usui ad conciliandos animos
6 barbarorum erit: hic tormenta, arma, omnis apparatus belli
7 est, qui simul et uos instruet et hostis nudabit. potiemur
praeterea cum pulcherrima opulentissimaque urbe, tum op-
portunissima portu egregio, unde terra marique, quae belli
usus poseunt, suppeditentur. quae cum magna ipsi habe-
8 binus, tum dempserimus hostibus multo maiora. haec illis
arx, hoc horreum, aerarium, armamentarium, hoc omnium
rerum receptaculum est: huc rectus ex Africa cursus est:
haec una inter Pyrenaeum et Gadis statio: hinc omni His-
paniae imminet Africa.' * * *

1 XLIV. * armauerat. cum terra marique instrui oppugna-
tionem uideret, et ipse copias ita disponit: oppidanorum
2 duo milia ab ea parte, qua castra Romana erant, opponit.
quingentis militibus arcem insidit, quingentos tumultu urbis
in orientem uerso inponit: multitudinem aliam, quo clamor,
quo subita uocasset res, intentam ad omnia occurrere iubet.
3 patefacta deinde porta eos, quos in uia ferente ad castra
hostium instruxerat, emittit. Romani duce ipso praecipiente
parumper cessare, ut propiores subsidiis in certamine ipso
4 summittendis essent. et primo laud impares stetere acies:
subsidia deinde identidem summissa e castris non auerterunt

solum in fugam hostis, sed adeo effusis institerunt, ut nisi receptui cecinisset, permixti fugientibus inrupturi fuisse in urbem uiderentur. trepidatio uero non in proelio maior 5 quam tota urbe fuit. multae stationes pauore atque fuga desertae sunt, relictique muri, cum, qua cuique erat proximum, desiluissent. quod ubi egressus Scipio in tumultum, 6 quem Mercuri uocant, animaduertit, multis partibus nudata defensoribus moenia esse, omnis e castris excitos ire ad oppugnandam urbem et ferre scalas iubet. ipse trium prae 7 se iuuenum ualidorum scutis oppositis—ingens enim iam uis omnis generis telorum e muris uolabat—ad urbem succedit, hortatur, imperat quae in rem sunt, quodque plurimum 8 ad accendendos militum animos intererat, testis spectatorque uirtutis atque ignauiae cuiusque adest. itaque in uulnera 9 ac tela ruunt, neque illos muri neque superstantes armati arcere queunt, quin certatim ascendant. et ab nauibus 10 eodem tempore ea, quae mari adluitur, pars urbis oppugnari coepta est. ceterum tumultus inde maior quam uis *adhi-*beri poterat. dum adplicant, dum raptim exponunt scalas 11 militesque, dum, qua cuique proximum est, in terram euadere properant, ipsa festinatione et certamine alii alios inpediunt. XLV. inter haec repleuerat iam Poenus armatis muros, et 1 uis magna ex ingenti copia congesta telorum suppeditabat. sed neque uiri nec tela nec quicquam aliud aequae quam 2 moenia ipsa sese defendebant. rarae enim scalae altitudini aequari poterant, et quo quaeque altiores, eo infirmiores erant. itaque cum summus quisque euadere non posset, subirent 3 tamen alii, onere ipso frangebantur. quidam stantibus scalis, cum altitudo caliginem oculis offudisset, ad terram delati sunt. et cum passim homines scalaeque ruerent, et ipso 4 successu audacia atque alacritas hostium cresceret, signum receptui datum est, quod spem non praesentis modo ab tanto 5 certamine ac labore quietis obsessis, sed etiam in posterum dedit, scalis et corona capi urbem non posse, opera et diffi-

cilia esse et tempus datura ad ferendam opem imperatoribus suis.

6 Vix prior tumultus contiguerat, cum Scipio ab defessis
iam uulneratisque recentis integrosque alios accipere scalas
7 iubet *et* ui maiore adgredi urbem. ipse, ut ei nuntiatum
est aestum decedere, quod per piscatores Tarraconenses nunc
leuibus cumbis, nunc, ubi eae siderent, uadis peruagatos
stagnum conpertum habebat, facilem pedibus ad murum
8 transitum dari, eo secum armatos *quingentos* duxit. medium
ferme diei erat, et ad id, quod sua sponte cedente in mare
aestu trahebatur aqua, acer etiam septemtrio ortus inclina-
tum stagnum eodem quo aestus ferebat et adeo nudauerat
uada, ut alibi umbilico tenuis aqua esset, alibi genua uix
9 superaret. hoc cura ac ratione conpertum in prodigium
ac deos uertens Scipio, qui ad transitum Romanis mare
uerterent et stagna auferrent uiasque ante nunquam initas
humano uestigio aperirent. Neptunum iubebat ducem itineris
1 sequi ac medio stagno euadere ad moenia. XLVI. ab terra
ingens labor succedentibus erat; nec altitudine tantum moe-
nium impediabantur, sed quod tuentes ad ancipites utrim-
que ictus subiectos habebant Romanos, ut latera infestiora
2 subeuntibus quam aduersa corpora essent. at parte in alia
quingentis et per stagnum facilis transitus et in murum
ascensus inde fuit; nam neque opere emunitus erat, ut ubi
ipsius loci ac stagni praesidio satis creditum foret, nec ulla
armatorum statio aut custodia opposita intentis omnibus ad
3 opem eo ferendam, unde periculum ostendebatur. ubi
urbem sine certamine intrauere, pergunt inde, quanto
maximo cursu poterant, ad eam portam, circa quam omne
4 contractum certamen erat, in quod adeo intenti omnium
non animi solum fuere, sed etiam oculi auresque pugnan-
5 tium spectantiumque et adhortantium pugnantis, ut nemo
ante ab tergo senserit captam urbem, quam tela in auersos
6 inciderunt et utrimque ancipitem hostem habebant. tunc

turbatis defensoribus metu et moenia capta, et porta intus forisque pariter refringi coepta; et mox caedendo confectis ac distractis, ne iter impediretur, foribus armati impetum fecerunt. magna multitudo et muros transcendebat. sed 7 ii passim ad caedem oppidanorum uersi; illa, quae portam ingressa erat, iusta acies cum ducibus, cum ordinibus media urbe usque in forum processit. inde cum duobus itineribus 8 fugientis uideret hostis, alios ad tumultum in orientem uersum, qui tenebatur quingentorum militum praesidio, alios in arcem, in quam et ipse Mago cum omnibus fere armatis, qui muris pulsati fuerant, refugerat, partim copiarum ad tumultum expugnandum mittit, partim ipse ad arcem ducit. et tumultus primo impetu est captus, et Mago, arcem conatus 9 defendere, cum omnia hostium plena uideret neque spem ullam esse, se arcemque et praesidium dedit. quoad dedita 10 arx est, caedes tota urbe passim factae, nec ulli puberum, qui obuius fuit, parebatur; tum signo dato caedibus finis factus: ad praedam uictores uersi, quae ingens omnis generis fuit.

XLVII. Liberos capitum uirile secus ad decem milia 1 capta. inde, qui ciues Nouae Carthaginis erant, dimisit, urbemque et sua omnia, quae relicta iis bellum fecerat, restituit. opifices ad duo milia hominum erant: eos pub- 2 licos fore populi Romani edixit cum spe propinqua libertatis, si ad ministeria belli enixe operam nauassent. ceteram 3 multitudinem incolarum iuuenum ac ualidorum seruorum in classem ad supplementum remigum dedit; et auxerat nauibus octo captiuis classem. extra hanc multitudinem 4 Hispanorum obsides erant, quorum, perinde ac si socio- rum liberi essent, cura habita. captus et apparatus ingens 5 belli: catapultae maximae formae centum uiginti, minores ducentae octoginta una, ballistae maiores uiginti tres, min- 6 ores quinquaginta duae, scorpionum maiorum minorumque et armorum telorumque ingens numerus, signa militaria

7 septuaginta quattuor. et auri argentique relata ad imperatorem magna uis: paterae aureae fuerunt ducentae septuaginta sex, librae ferme omnes pondo; argenti infecti signatique decem et octo milia et trecenta pondo, uasorum
8 argenteorum magnus numerus. haec omnia C. Flaminio quaestori adpensa adnumerataque sunt; tritici quadringenta
9 milia modium, hordei ducenta septuaginta. naues onerariae sexaginta tres in portu expugnatae captaeque, quaedam cum suis oneribus, frumento, armis, aere praeterea ferroque et linteis et sparto et nauali alia materia ad classem aedificandam, ut minimum omnium inter tantas opes belli captas Carthago ipsa fuerit.

1 XLVIII. Eo die Scipio, C. Laelio cum sociis naualibus
2 urbem custodire iusso, ipse in castra legiones reduxit fessosque milites omnibus uno die belli operibus, quippe qui et acie dimicassent et capienda urbe tantum laboris periculique adissent et capta cum iis, qui in arcem confugerant,
3 iniquo etiam loco pugnassent, curare corpora iussit. postero die militibus naualibusque sociis conuocatis primum dis immortalibus laudes gratesque egit, qui se non urbis solum opulentissimae omnium in Hispania uno die compotem fecissent, sed ante eo conguessissent omnis Africae atque Hispaniae opes, ut neque hostibus quicquam relinqueretur,
4 et sibi ac suis omnia superessent. militum deinde uirtutem conlaudauit, quod eos non eruptio hostium, non altitudo moenium, non inexplorata stagni uada, non castellum in altotumulo situm, non munitissima arx deterruisset, quo minus
5 transcenderent omnia perrumperentque. itaque quamquam omnibus omnia deberet, praecipuum muralis coronae decus
6 eius esse, qui primus murum ascendisset; profiteretur, qui se dignum eo duceret dono. duo professi sunt, Q. Tiberilius centurio legionis quartae et Sex. Digitius socius naualis. nec ipsi tam inter se acriter contendebant, quam studia ex-
7 citauerant uterque sui corporis hominum. sociis C. Laelius

praefectus classis. legionariis M. Sempronius Tuditanus
aderat. ea contentio cum prope seditionem ueniret, Sci-
pio tris recuperatores cum se daturum pronuntiasset, qui
cognita causa testibusque auditis iudicarent, uter prior in
oppidum transcendisset, C. Laelio et M. Sempronio, ad-
uocatis partis utriusque, P. Cornelium Caudinum de medio
adiecit eosque tris recuperatores considerare et causam cogno-
scere iussit. cum res eo maiore ageretur certamine, quod
amoti tantae dignitatis non tam aduocati quam moderatores
studiorum fuerant, C. Laelius relicto consilio ad tribunal
ad Scipionem accedit eumque docet rem sine modo ac
modestia agi, ac prope esse, ut manus inter se conferant.
ceterum etiam si uis absit, nihilo minus detestabili exemplo
rem agi, quippe ubi fraude ac periurio decus petatur uirtutis,
stare hinc legionarios milites, hinc classicos, per omnis deos
paratos iurare magis quae uelint, quam quae sciant uera
esse, et obstringere periurio non se solum suumque caput,
sed signa militaria et aquilas sacramentique religionem,
haec se ad eum de sententia P. Cornelii et M. Sempronii
deferre. Scipio conlaudato Laelio ad contionem aduocauit
pronuntiauitque se satis compertum habere Q. Tiberilium et
Sex. Digitium pariter in murum escendisse, seque eos ambos
uirtutis causa coronis muralibus donare. tum reliquos, prout
cuiusque meritum uirtusque erat, donauit; ante omnis C.
Laelium praefectum classis et omni genere laudis sibimet
ipse aequauit et corona aurea ac triginta bubus donauit.

XLIX. Tum obsides ciuitatum Hispaniae uocari iussit; 1
quorum quantus numerus fuerit piget scribere, quippe cum
alibi trecentos ferme, alibi tria milia septingentos uiginti quat-
tuor fuisse inueniam. aequae et alia inter auctores discrepant. 2
praesidium Punicum alius decem, alius septem, alius haud
plus quam duum milium fuisse scribit. capta alibi decem
milia capitem, alibi supra quinque et uiginti inuenio. scor- 3
piones maiores minoresque ad sexaginta captos scripserim.

si auctorem Graecum sequar Silenum ; si Valerium Antia-
tem, maiorum scorpionum sex milia, minorum decem et
tria milia : adeo nullus mentiendi modus est. ne de duci-
4 bus quidem conuenit. plerique Laelium praefuisse classi,
5 sunt qui M. Iunium Silanum dicant ; Arinen praefuisse
Punico praesidio deditumque Romanis Antias Valerius,
6 Magonem alii scriptores tradunt. non de numero nauium
captarum, non de pondere auri atque argenti et redactae
pecuniae conuenit. si aliquis adsentiri necesse est, media
7 simillima ueris sunt. ceterum uocatis obsidibus primum
8 uniuersos bonum animum habere iussit : uenisse enim eos
in populi Romani potestatem. qui beneficio quam metu
obligare homines malit exterisque gentis fide ac societate
9 iunctas habere quam tristi subiectas seruitio. deinde ac-
ceptis nominibus ciuitatum recensuit captiuos. quot cuius-
que populi essent. et nuntios domum misit. ut ad suos
10 quisque recipiendos ueniret. si quarum forte ciuitatum
legati aderant, iis praesentibus suos restituit : ceterorum
curam benigne tuendorum C. Flaminio quaestori attribuit.
11 inter haec e media turba obsidum mulier magno natu, Man-
doni uxor. qui frater Indibilis Ilergetum reguli erat, flens
ad pedes imperatoris procubuit obtestarique coepit, ut curam
cultumque feminarum impensius custodibus commendaret.
12 cum Scipio nihil defuturum iis profecto diceret. tum rursus
mulier : 'haud magni ista facinus' inquit ; 'quid enim
huic fortunae non salis est ? alia me cura aetatem harum
intuentem—nam ipsa iam extra periculum iniuriae muliebris
13 sum—stimulat.' et aetate et forma florentes circa eam In-
dibilis filiae erant aliaeque nobilitate pari, quae omnes eam
14 pro parente colebant. tum Scipio 'meae populiue Romani
disciplinae causa facerem' inquit, 'ne quid, quod sanctum
15 usquam esset, apud nos uiolaretur ; nunc ut id curem in-
pensius, uestra quoque uirtus dignitasque facit. quae ne
16 in malis quidem oblitae decoris matronalis estis.' spectatae

deinde integritatis uiro tradidit eas. tuerique haud secus uerecunde ac modeste quam hospitum coniuges ac matres iussit.

L. Captiua deinde a militibus adducitur ad eum adulta ¹ uirgo adeo eximia forma, ut, quacumque incedebat, conuerteret omnium oculos. Scipio, percontatus patriam ² parentesque, inter cetera accepit desponsam eam principi Celtiberorum; adulescenti Allucio nomen erat. extemplo ³ igitur parentibus sponsoque ab domo accitis, cum interim audiret deperire eum sponsae amore, ubi primum uenit, accuratiore eum sermone quam parentis adloquitur: ‘iuuenis’ ⁴ inquit ‘iuuenem appello, quo minor sit inter nos huius sermonis uerecundia. ego, cum sponsa tua capta a militibus nostris ad me ducta esset audiremque tibi eam cordi esse et forma faceret fidem, quia ipse, si frui liceret ludo aetatis, ⁵ praesertim in recto et legitimo amore, et non res publica animum nostrum occupasset, ueniam mihi dari sponsam impensius amanti uellem, tuo, cuius possum, amori faueo. fuit sponsa tua apud me eadem qua apud soceros tuos ⁶ parentisque suos uerecundia; seruata tibi est, ut inuiolatum et dignum me teque dari tibi donum posset. hanc mercede ⁷ dem unam pro eo munere paciscor: amicus populo Romano sis et, si me uirum bonum credis esse, qualis patrem patruumque meum iam ante hae gentes norant, scias multos nostri similis in ciuitate Romana esse nec ullum in terris ⁸ hodie populum dici posse, quem minus tibi hostem tuisque esse uelis aut amicum malis.’ cum adulescens simul pudore ⁹ et gaudio perfusus, dextram Scipionis tenens, deos omnis inuocaret ad gratiam illi pro se referendam, quoniam sibi nequaquam satis facultatis pro suo animo atque illius erga se merito esset, parentes inde cognatique uirginis appellati; ¹⁰ qui, quoniam gratis sibi redderetur uirgo, ad quam redimendam satis magnum attulissent auri pondus, orare Scipio- ¹¹ nem, ut id ab se donum acciperet, coeperunt, haud minorem

eius rei apud se gratiam futuram esse adfirmantes quam
12 redditae inuiolatae foret uirginis. Scipio, quando tanto
opere peterent, accepturum se pollicitus poni ante pedes
iussit uocatoque ad se Allucio 'super dotem' inquit, 'quam
accepturus a socero es, haec tibi a me dotalia dona accedent'
13 aurumque tollere ac sibi habere iussit. his laetus donis
honoribusque dimissus domum impleuit popularis laudibus
meritis Scipionis: uenisse dis simillimum iuuenem, uincen-
14 tem omnia cum armis tum benignitate ac beneficiis. itaque
dilectu clientium habito cum delectis mille et quadringentis
equitibus intra paucos dies ad Scipionem reuertit.

1 LI. Scipio retentum secum Laelium, dum captiuos obsi-
desque et praedam ex consilio eius disponderet, satis omnibus
2 compositis, data quinquere mi *c* captiuis *atque* Magone et
quindecim fere senatoribus, qui simul cum eo capti erant,
3 in nauem inpositis nuntium uictoriae Romam mittit. ipse
paucos dies, quibus morari Carthagine statuerat, exercendis
4 naualibus pedestribusque copiis absumpsit. primo die le-
giones in armis quattuor milium spatio decurrerunt; se-
cundo die arma curare et tergere ante tentoria iussi; tertio
die rudibus inter se in modum iustae pugnae concurrerunt
praepilatisque missilibus iaculati sunt; quarto die quies
5 data; quinto iterum in armis decursum est. hunc ordinem
laboris quietisque, quoad Carthagine morati sunt, seruauerunt.
6 remigium classicique milites tranquillo in altum euecti
agilitatem nauium simulacris naualis pugnae experiebantur.
7 haec extra urbem terra marique corpora simul animosque
ad bellum acuebant; urbs ipsa strepebat apparatu belli
8 fabris omnium generum in publica officina inclusis. dux
cuncta pari cura obibat: nunc in classe ac nauali erat, nunc
cum legionibus decurrebat, nunc operibus aspiciendis tempus
dabat, quaeque in officinis quaeque in armamentario ac
naualibus fabrorum multitudo plurima in singulos dies
9 certamine ingenti faciebat. his ita incohatis reffectisque, quae

quassata erant muri, dispositisque praesidiis ad custodiam urbis Tarraconem est profectus, a multis legationibus pro-
10 tinus in uia aditus, quas partim dato responso ex itinere dimisit, partim distulit Tarraconem, quo omnibus nouis ueteribusque sociis edixerat conuentum. et cuncti fere qui
eis Hiberum incolunt populi, multi etiam ulterioris pro-
uinciae conuenerunt. Carthaginiensium duces primo ex 11 industria famam captae Carthaginis compresserunt; deinde, ut clarior res erat, quam ut tegi ac dissimulari posset, eleuabant uerbis: necopinato aduentu ac prope furto unius diei 12 urbem unam Hispaniae interceptam, cuius rei tam paruae praemio elatum insolentem iuuenem inmodico gaudio speciem magnae uictoriae inposuisse; at ubi adpropinquare tris 13 duces, tris uictores hostium exercitus audisset, occurruram ei extemplo domesticorum funerum memoriam. haec in 14 uulgus iactabant, haudquaquam ipsi ignari, quantum sibi ad omnia uirium Carthagine amissa decessisset.

[PERIOCHA LIBRI XXVI.]

Hannibal ad tertium lapidem ab urbe Roma super Anienem castra posuit. ipse cum duobus milibus equitum usque ad ipsam Capenam portam, ut situm urbis exploraret, obequitauit. et cum per triduum in aciem utrimque exercitus omnis descendisset, certamen tempestas diremit; nam cum in castra redisset, statim serenitas erat. Capua capta est a Q. Fuluius et Ap. Claudio consulibus. principes Campanorum ueneno sibi mortem consciuerunt. cum senatus Campanorum deligatus esset ad palos, ut securi feriretur, litteras a senatu missas Q. Fuluius consul, quibus iubebatur parcere, antequam legeret, in sinu posuit et lege agi iussit et supplicium peregit. cum comitiis apud populum quaereretur, cui mandaretur Hispaniarum imperium, nullo id uolente suscipere P. Scipio, P. filius eius, qui in Hispania ceciderat,

professus est se iturum et suffragio populi consensuque omnium missus Nouam Carthaginem expugnauit, cum haberet annos XXIV uidereturque diuina stirpe creatus, quia et ipse, postquam togam acceperat, cotidie in Capitolio erat, et in cubiculo matris eius anguis saepe uidebatur. res praeterea gestas in Sicilia continet et amicitiam cum Aetolis iunctam bellumque gestum aduersus Acarnanas et Philippum, Macedoniae regem.]

NOTES

CHAPTER I

§ 1. **Idibus Martiis**: the civil year began at this time on March 15; from the year B.C. 153 on it began on Jan. 1. Willems, *Le droit publ. rom.* 248.

Capitolium: i. e. the temple of Jupiter on the Capitol where the first meeting of each year was regularly held. The Senate always met in a place consecrated by the taking of auspices *templum*; this was usually inside the *pomerium*, but on special occasions it might be outside. See c. 21. 1, and note there.

re publica, 'public business,' defined by *de administratiōe belli* and *de provinciis exercitiisque*, 'the conduct of the war and the allotment of the provinces and troops.' Declarations of war and treaties of peace could be made only by the *populus*, but the Senate was supreme in questions of military policy and administration.

patres. Livy uses *patres* to mean both 'senators,' as here, and 'patricians.' The former use grew out of the latter, as the Senate was originally composed of patrician heads of families *patres familias*.

§ 2. **prorogatum**: they were continued in their command as pro-consuls: perhaps, as Arnold (*Hist. of Rome*, iii. 197) suggests, because the consuls for the year were men of no special weight.

obsidebant: the use of the indie. marks the clause as an explanatory addition of Livy's, not forming part of the *decretum*.

expugnassent: for the subj. after *proutquam* see Roby, § 1672.

§ 3. **ea cura**, 'anxiety about this': a pronominal adj. often stands thus in place of an objective or possessive genitive; cf. c. 13. *1 is timor*, 'fear of this,' *eo terrore*, Virg. *Aen.* viii. 705, and Roby, § 1279.

non ab ira, 'not merely from resentment (though no state ever deserved it more richly)', but from the expectation that a city of such celebrity and influence, as it had dragged more than one community into revolt along with it, would, if once it were recaptured, again produce a revulsion of feeling and renew their regard for their former masters.'

§ 4. **populos**: the reference is to the Atellani, Calatini, and Sabatini of c. 33. 12.

recepta: for the use of the participle see note on *delicti*, c. 2. 14.

inclinatura, c. 38. 3 n.

§ 5. **Etruria**: practically in revolt: see c. 28. 4.

Sempronio : he was not *praetor*, but *propraetor* the year before (xxv. 3. 5).

Gallia : i. e. Gallia Cisalpina, as it was called later.

binis : usually a praetor had only one legion, but the rule was not absolute, and varied with the occasion.

§ 6. **reliqua belli** : this use of the neut. plur. of an adj. in place of a noun is common in Livy and later writers ; cf. *intima regni*, c. 28. 2. Cicero would have said *reliquum bellum* : but the later use has the advantage of expressing, by the employment of the plural, the idea of stages in a process ; contrast *reliquum belli*, 'the one thing wanting to make the conquest complete,' c. 40. 2.

§ 7. **suppletet** : represents an imperative in Oratio Recta.

P. Cornelius. P. Cornelius Lentulus, appointed praetor for Sicily in 214 B.C. (xxiv. 10. 5) ; the Sicily meant is the then Roman province, including all Sicily outside the dominions of Hiero.

§ 8. **dum ne**, 'provided that he did not enrol' : cf. iii. 21. 6 *dum ego ne imiter tribunos* ; *dum* in this sense always takes *ne* when followed by a negative idea (Roby, § 1668).

eo numero = *numero eorum* ; see note on *ea cura*, § 3 : the (unexpressed) *eorum* is the antecedent to *quibus*.

missionem, 'discharge.' The soldiers referred to in this paragraph are the survivors of Cannae ; see § 10 and xxiii. 25. 7.

§ 9. **Sulpicio**, the praetor for Sicily (xxv. 41. 13).

qui : the antecedent is *exercitu*, not *Fulvii*.

§ 10. **generi** = *militibus huius generis*, 'the soldiers who had acted in this way,' so *hoc genus omne* (= *omnes huius generis*), Hor. *Sat.* i. 2. 2 ; *ex eo genere hominum*, xxviii. 21. 2.

propius : the accusative, not the dative, is the regular construction after *propius* and *proxime*. *Propior* and *proximus* also take the accusative, though not in Cicero.

§ 11. **Cornelio** : i. e. L. Cornelius Lentulus, the praetor (xxv. 41. 13).

Mucius : i. e. Mucius Scaevola, *propraetor* for the preceding year (xxv. 3. 6).

§ 12. **Otacilio**. T. Otacilius had held command of the fleet in Sicily since 214 (xxiv. 11. 17).

Valerio. M. Valerius Laevinus, who had been operating against Philip V of Macedon with one legion and a fleet since the actual outbreak of the Macedonian war in 214 (xxiv. 40. 5), the result of the treaty of 215 between Philip and Hannibal.

habebant : the subject is *Sicilia et Graecia*.

§ 13. **legionibus** : for the strength of the legion during the Second Punic War see note on c. 28. 7.

CHAPTER II

§ 1. **Marcii.** A Roman knight in the Spanish army, who had collected the fugitives after the defeat and death of the Scipios in 212, and had been elected commander by a vote of the soldiers xxv. 37, 1-6.

referretur : passive used impersonally : the presiding magistrate at a meeting of the Senate was said *referre ad Senatum*, i.e. to introduce the business of the day.

titulus honoris. 'His assumption of an official title (he had addressed his letter : "The proprætor to the Senate," though his command had not been conferred either by a vote of the people, or with the sanction of the Senate) gave offence to many of the members.' *honoris* here means not 'honorary' but 'belonging to a magistracy,' a usual meaning of *honor*, contrast the use of *honore nominis*, c. 41. 17 : *hominum - senatorum* ; see c. 8. 1 ; 36. 1 ; for a pro-magistracy conferred by the people see c. 18. 4.

§ 2. **rem . . . esse** : acc. and inf. depending on verb of saying to be supplied from *offendebat* in the preceding clause.

sollemne. 'ceremony' : neuter adj. used as noun : cf. *sollemne clausi figendi*, vii. 3. 8.

auspicandorum. Elections could not be held until the presiding magistrate had taken the auspices (*auspicari*) and found them favourable ; transl. here 'the ceremony of proceeding to an election after duly taking the auspices.' For the gerundive see note on c. 3. 10 *petendum*.

temeritatem, 'an irresponsible soldiery' : abstract for concrete.

§ 3. **referendum** : sc. the question of the validity of the election.

eam consultationem, 'the discussion of that question' : see c. 1. 3 n.

proficiscerentur : subj. due to idea of purpose in *dare* (Roby, § 1664 ; the Senate did not wish the messengers from Marcius to be detained unnecessarily).

§ 4. **placuit**, 'it was resolved'—the regular word in this connexion ; cf. c. 10. 2 and 9 ; 16. 9 ; 18. 2 ; 34. 11.

eam utramque rem = *utramque rem eorum* [*rerum*] : *uterque* is used adjectivally with nouns, but takes a genitive of pronouns : thus *uterque frater* but *uterque eorum* (Roby, §§ 1292 sq.).

adscribi. Note force of *ad* : the address is looked on as an addition to the letter ; cf. Cic. *Ferr.* ii. 1. § 88 *non solum id perscribunt . . . sed etiam causam adscribunt*.

ne id ipsum. 'that he might not take their doing so as a decision on the very point they had postponed for further deliberation' : for *præiudicato* cf. *præiudicium*, c. 29. 8.

§ 5. **agendum.** 'that negotiations be opened with the tribunes ; and that they be instructed to bring the matter before the people at the earliest possible moment' : *ferrent* represents an imperative, *ad plebem feranto*.

primo quoque. *Quisque* joined to a superlative confers upon it an *extensive* force: thus *optimus* e.g. means 'the (ideally) best'; *optimus quisque*, 'the best man whoever he is,' 'the best man in every case,' *quisque* having almost its original force of *quicumque* v. Lindsay, *Latin Language*, p. 448): so in Cic. *Tusc. Disp.* iii. 28. 69 *nonne optimus et gravissimus quisque confitetur multa se ignorare?* = 'Does not the best and most serious man among them invariably confess that there is much that he is ignorant of?' *maximae cuique fortunae minime credendum est* (Liv. xxx. 30. 18', 'the greatest good fortune is always the least to be trusted.' To translate *optimus quisque* by 'all the best men' is to obscure the fact that *optimus* is the important part of the phrase and that *quisque* is more or less parenthetical. For *primus quisque* cf. Liv. xlii. 48. 4 *ut exercitui diem primam quamque ediceret*, 'to give notice for the first day whenever that might be'; so here *primo quoque tempore* = 'at the earliest possible opportunity'; cf. *καὶ τῶνδε καὶρὸν ὅστις ὥκιστος λαβέ*, Aesch. *Sept.* 65.

Cn. Scipio. Cn. Scipio had been sent by his brother Publius to Spain in 218; after the death of the latter in 212 he had been sole *imperator* for thirty days till he was himself defeated and killed; it is to this period that the statement in the text refers.

§ 6. **promulgata**: the magistrate was said *promulgare rogationem* when he published the details of a measure to be submitted to the *comitia*: transl. 'the matter was arranged with the tribunes and due notice given.'

§ 7. **die dicta**, 'giving notice of prosecution.' The phrase *diem dicere* is used of a magistrate appointing a day for a prosecution to take place; in this case, where a tribune is concerned, the *anquisitio* came before the *concilium plebis*: when the penalty was changed from *pecunia* to *caput*, and the case had in consequence to come before the *comitia centuriata*, the tribune had no longer a right *diem dicere*, but got the praetor to do it for him (c. 3. 8). See Greenidge, *Legal Procedure*, p. 329 sq.

contionibus: meetings of the people summoned and presided over by a magistrate whose permission must be obtained to address the people; the *contiones* here referred to are those concerned with the *anquisitio*, see c. 3. 5 note.

praecipitem. 'dangerous,' lit. 'steep': cf. xxvii. 27. 11 *se collegamque et prope totam rem publicam in praecipem dederat*.

§ 8. **proderet... uiderent**: subj. because in dependent clauses in *Oratio Obliqua*.

§ 9. **ineat**, 'when giving his vote.' Before the *lex Gabinia* of 139 B.C. the voters had to go into enclosures (*consaepta*) and give their votes individually as they came out to officers stationed at the exits: thus *inire suffragium* = 'to enter for voting,' *suffragium* being an extension of the regular use of the cognate accus. (e.g. *inire viam suffragii*, 'to go in upon a voting errand'). The pres. subj. represents (even in past sequence,

a present indic. of a general truth in *Oratio Recta*; so *permittat* below. For the use of the present subj. in past sequence in Livy see App. II to Prof. Conway's edition of Book II, where the whole matter is clearly discussed.

Sempronium: i. e. Tib. Sempronius Gracchus, consul 215 B.C., who commanded the army stationed near Liternum to surround Hannibal and Capua (xxiii. 35. 5); his army was composed of *volentes*, slaves who had been enrolled to the number of 8,000 in the army in 216 *incipio liberorum capitum*. They were purchased by the state and manumitted in 214 (xxii. 57. 11).

§ 10. **sui**: referring to *nemo*, the subject of the subordinate clause, 'none among them remembered his rank and origin': for Gracchus' care in this respect cf. xxiii. 35. 9 *ut prope in oblivionem decideret, quod ex conditione quisque miles factus esset*.

praesidio . . . terrori: n. to the chiasmus, frequent in Livy.

essent: the subject is *omnis* to be supplied out of *nemo*. Cf. Hor. *Sat.* i. 1. 1-3 *qui fit . . . ut nemo . . . vivat, laudet diversa sequentes*, sc. *quisque* or *unusquisque*; Juv. vi. 18 *cum furem nemo timeret . . . et aperto viveret horto*; Cic. *Tusc. Disp.* ii. § 16 where supply *efficit* ut from *respicit* *in*; Thuc. ii. 60. 6 τοῦ εὐνοῦ from δούλων. T. W. D.]

velut e faucibus, 'from the very maw': *velut* softens the metaphor, cf. 6. 2; 19. 4; 29. 4; 37. 5.

§ 11. **Quiritium**: a specially formal word denoting Romans in the full possession of their rights as citizens.

liberaliter, 'men who had been brought up as freemen he had tainted with vices fit only for slaves': for *in laqueo* cf. *quod secundum est imbuta recipere servat ille colorum* | *testa dicit*, Hor. *Ep.* i. 2. 69: *in loti* . . . *li manibus delinunt*, *catas*, xl. 11. 3.

nec . . . modo = *et non . . . modo*, *neq.* being apparently used to prevent the too frequent repetition of *non*: this use of *neq.* . . . *modo* is not Ciceronian, v. Reid on Cic. *Lacl.* § 30. For *non . . . modo* = *non . . . modo non*, where *ne . . . quidem* follows, and the same predicate (here *possent*) is common to both clauses, see Madv. § 461. 6.

clamorem, 'battle-cry'; c. 5. 9.

§ 12. **hercule**, 'assuredly' (lit. 'by Hercules'): this, being an interjection, should not, strictly speaking, appear in reported speech, but is retained to give vigour to the style.

§ 13. **aliquos**, 'any at all,' as contrasted with *nemo*; 'a certain number' is *aliquot*.

Flaminius at Lake Trasimennus in 217: **Paulus** at Cannae in 216.

Postumius surrounded and cut to pieces with his army by the Gauls at Litana in 216 (xxiii. 24. 6 sqq.); **Scipiones** defeated and killed in Spain 212 B.C.

§ 14. **deleti exercitus**, 'news of the destruction of the army': this use

of the past part. in agreement with a noun in place of an abstract noun with the genitive is very common in Livy. Roby, § 1406.

indignum, 'intolerable': for this sense cf. *indigna patientiam*, c. 38. 4.

Cannensem, 'it would be intolerable that while the survivors of Cannae were . . . yet Fulvius's flight should go unpunished': a Greek writer could have made the sentence clearer by the use of μέν and δέ (e. g. αἰσχροὺν ἔστι τοὺς μὲν στρατιώτας . . . τὸν δὲ στρατηγὸν κ.τ.λ.). For the same construction see § 15 below *cum* . . . *acturum, milites* . . . *pati*, and c. 41.

17. For the deportation of the *milites Cannenses* see xxiii. 31. 4.

ne, 'with the intention that they should not': *ne* is used in place of *ita* . . . *ut non* to emphasize the idea of purpose; cf. c. 28. 13 n. The omission of *ita* is unusual; it occurs again in c. 34. 9.

in, 'in the case of'; c. 31. 2.

§ 15. **ganea lustrisque**, 'haunts of gluttony and vice.'

iuuentam: Weissenborn-Müller note that this word was practically confined to poetry before Livy, who always uses *iuventus* in a collective sense.

§ 16. **milites**, 'while the soldiers,' &c.; see § 14 n.

quod, 'for no other offence than being like their general': note this use of *quod* introducing a clause explanatory of a preceding pronoun (here *id* understood); *quod* is generally used in this sense when *quam* precedes; cf. Roby, §§ 1701 ff.; Kennedy, § 196.

adeo. 'so true is it that at Rome there is one sort of freedom for the rich, another for the poor, one for the official, another for the ordinary citizen.' This exclamatory use of *adeo* is frequent in Livy, and gives a lively and rhetorical tinge to the style.

CHAPTER III

§ 1. **transferebat**: conative imperf. 'tried to shift the blame,' cf. *revocabat*, c. 8. 2; the accusative and infinitive construction following depends upon the verb of saying implied in *transferebat*.

non eo quo = *non eo die, quo* ('on which') *produci uoluerint*.

uoluerint . . . fuerit: see note on *fugerit*, c. 2. 14.

seu . . . seu: often used thus when the speaker hesitates between two words; this use is really elliptical: e. g. here the full expression would be *non sustinerunt hostium—sive ea fama fuit, sive uis*, 'they could not face the enemy's—strength, perhaps it was, or perhaps reputation'; cf. c. 35. 9.

§ 3. **qui**: abl. 'how.' Trans. 'How could he have benefited the state by staying there alone, unless on the supposition that his death was to undo the disasters of his country?' *cladibus* plural for singular—a poetic usage; for the accus. and inf. see note on c. 35. 10. The use of *nisi si* for *nisi* is borrowed from conversational Latin.

§ 4. **agmine**, here almost in the sense of *itinere* (v. *Thesaurus Ling. Lat.* s.v.), 'without reconnoitring his line of march'; *inexplorato* is used absolutely xxvii. 26, 6, &c.

suum cuique, 'a man's own disposition made him either a hero or a coward.' *cuique* is *datiuus commodi* after *facere*: when *suis* and *quisque* come in the same sentence, the latter is nearly always put immediately after the former.

§ 5. **bis est accusatus**, 'his case was brought forward twice, and the penalty proposed was a fine.' When a magistrate impeached a criminal before the people, the case was first brought forward on three days not necessarily consecutive in a *contio*; this stage of the trial was called *anquisitio*, and the accuser was said *anquirere*. Then, after an interval of three weeks (*trimaandinum*), a bill (*rogatio*) embodying the penalty was brought before the *comitia*, and the people voted either for or against according to the opinion they had formed of the case during the proceedings in the *anquisitio*. For fuller details see Greenidge, *Rom. Publ. Life*, pp. 246 sqq.

tertio: sc. *die*.

probris, 'all kinds of disgraceful charges were being made use of to crush him'; cf. c. 2. 15 in *ganea lustrisque ubi iuventam egerit*.

§ 6. **cum haud**, 'believing that the general had some good reason for his fright': for *vanum* cf. *adfinquentium uana*, c. 9. 6.

capite anquirendum, 'the public (*contio*) interrupted the proceedings by a demand for the extreme penalty of the law': for this use of *sub* cf. the Gk. use of *ὑπό*, e.g. *ὑπολαβὰν εἶπεν*. It was perfectly legal for the prosecutor to change the proposed penalty during the *anquisitio*, as in the case of Postumius Pyrgensis in xxv. 4. 8. *Capite*, like *penuria* in § 5, is abl. of the penalty—the gen. *capitis* is used in the same sense below.

§ 8. **tribuni**, 'the tribunes, on being appealed to, refused to put any obstacle in the way of their colleague's conducting the trial as he pleased, either by strict law or by precedent (an alternative permitted by long standing custom according as he had adjudged the penalty due to the accused to be either death or a fine.' *sen legibus sen moribus* is parallel to *vel capitis vel pecuniæ*; the legal penalty was death, but the practice of imposing a fine instead had become customary. For *iudicare* = 'to adjudge the penalty,' embodied in the *rogatio*, see Greenidge, *Legal Procedure*, p. 346, who compares Cic. *Ley.* iii. 3. 6 *eum magistratus iudicassit iniquissimisque per populum multae poenae exortatio esto* (where see du Mesnil's note). *privato*, like *Fulvio* in the next sentence, is *datiuus incommodi*, 'for the accused,' a meaning of *privatus* found also in ix. 26. 17; xxxv. 41. 9; xliii. 16. 5. Weissenborn-Müller take *quoad* to mean 'until,' regarding the *iudicatio* at the end as the conclusion to which the whole *anquisitio* led up; but the tribunes are appealed to on the third day of the *anquisitio*, because their colleague has

declared *capitis se acquirere*, and under these circumstances it does not seem very natural for them to say 'we do not object to a colleague's conducting an *inquisitio* as he pleases until he decides on the penalty,' this not being the question submitted to them. The point in dispute was whether or not at the last he could alter the penalty proposed originally to one more severe, and their decision is that they will not interfere with his discretion.

§ 9. **perduellionis**, 'said he viewed the case against Fulvius as one of high treason,' i. e. he took the strictly legal view of the case and therefore proposed to exact the legal penalty.

diem . . . petit : see note on *die dicta*, c. 2. 7.

comitiis : i. e. *centuriatis*, a meeting of the *populus* to vote on the *rogatio*.

§ 10. **si . . . posset**, 'the hope that his brother could perhaps attend the trial,' for *si* cf. the use of *εἰ πως* in Gk.

potiundae, 'the prospect of the approaching capture of Capua.' Just as the past part. is used in agreement with the noun to express an abstract idea (see c. 2. 14 n.), so the gerundive is used where the sense requires the equivalent of a present or (as here) future part. passive ; for a good example see Livy's Preface § 6 *ante conditam condendamque urbem*, 'before the actual or contemplated foundation of the city' ; *propinqua* agrees with *spe* though logically it refers to the abstract idea implied in *potiundae* ; see c. 7. 7 n.

§ 11. **e re publica**, 'that the interests of the state forbade his leaving Capua' : *abscedi* is the passive used impersonally ; for *e* cf. Plaut. *Pseud.* i. 3. 102 *ex tua re non est ut ego emoriar* ; Liv. xxiii. 24. 1 *si e re publica censeret esse* ; so *ex foedere*, c. 39. 5.

a Capua. The use of *a* (*ab*) with the abl. of the name of a town instead of the simple abl. is extremely common in Livy ; it is as rare in Cicero ; for an example in Cic. see *Verr.* ii. 4. 72 *fugiente a Troia*.

§ 12. **postquam**, 'on the arrival of the day fixed for the trial.'

exulatum : supine after verb of motion 'went into exile.'

iustum, 'the people decreed that his exile should be legally binding' by passing the decree *aquae et ignis interdictio* by which he became an outlaw (*sacer*) on Roman soil. The decree in this case was passed by the *plebs* not the *populus*, as in xxv. 4. 9.

CHAPTER IV

§ 1. **obsidebatur**, 'the operations were rather a close blockade than a vigorous siege.'

acrius = *acriter potius quam* ; cf. c. 20. 8 n.

seruitia : abstract for concrete = *serui*, cf. *mancia*.

§ 2. **praestaret** : consecutive subj. after *qui*.

Campanis, 'in the people of Capua.' *dativus communi*. *Campanus* is

the only adj. from *Capua* in use in good writers. It serves also as an adj. in the sense of 'Campanian,' cf. c. 5. 2 and *passim*.

superesset : subj. of reported thought.

temptandi. It is more usual to find the gerundive used from transitive verbs (e.g. here *craptionis temptandae*), but the rule is frequently broken, especially in the genitive case, and the gerund with an acc. used instead, Roby, § 1394.

§ 3. **faciebant** : sc. *Campani* ; note the asyndeton.

lactum : sc. *Romanis*. 'Their pleasure at their victory by no means made up for their mortification at being beaten.'

§ 4. **aequaretur**, 'should be made up for' ; cf. c. 37. 6.

septena, 'seven javelins apiece, each four feet long, tipped with the same sort of iron point as is to be seen on the spears of the light-armed troops' : *quattuor* would have done here as well as *quaternos* ; the latter is probably due to the influence of *septena*. For the use of *prae* cf. *figura paulum ab imo praeculata* 'sharpened at the end', Caesar, *B. G.* iv. 17 ; *hasta praeculata* ('burned at the point', Liv. i. 32. 12 ; *praerupti montes*, Cat. lxiv. 126, 'the mountain's splintered crags.'

§ 5. **singulos**, 'each taking up one.'

ubi ... esset, 'when the signal was given' : the use of the subj. is frequent in Livy to denote indefinite frequency ; for this use cf. note on *recepissent*, c. 11. 3.

§ 6. **satis**, 'quite,' c. 37. 5.

qui medius, 'lying between the camp and the city wall.' Appian *Haem.* 37 says the breadth was about two stades—quarter of a mile : Capua lay within the ring of the Roman lines like a little city inside a large one (*ἥ τε ὅψις ἦν πόλεως μεγάλης μικροτέραν ἔχουσης ἐν μέσῳ*).

§ 7. **ad coniectum**, 'within effective range' ; cf. c. 40. 10.

uelites : they were only *velites* for the moment, as they had been chosen from the ranks of the legionaries.

pedestris acies. 'a force, changed in a moment from cavalry into infantry.'

emittunt : the subject is indefinite, to be supplied from *acies*.

alia super alia : cf. c. 41. 8.

§ 8. **plus**, 'the greater part of the panic caused was due to the unexpected and novel manoeuvre' : *plus* = τὸ πλεον.

§ 10. **auctorem**, 'suggested the plan of combining infantry and cavalry' : *inmiscendorum* v. note on c. 3. 10. This is the first notice we have of the organization of the light-armed skirmishers (*velites*, *proculibores*) of the legion. When the organization of the *velites* was complete they numbered 1000 in each legion, and took the place of the *porarii* and *accensi* of an earlier epoch.

CHAPTER V

§ 1. **diuersum**, 'Hannibal was pulled in different directions by his desire to gain possession of the citadel at Tarentum and his anxiety to keep his hold on Capua': for the gerundives v. note on c. 3. 10: for *diuersum* cf. c. 20. 6 *diuersi concesserant*.

§ 2. **respectus**, 'the claims of Capua,' lit. 'his consideration of Capua': for *respectus* see c. 1. 4 *ad uteris imperii respectum*; ix. 27. 4 *intentiones ad respectum castrorum, ne qua eo uis fieret*.

documento: predicative dative; 'it would serve as an object-lesson.'

habuisset: subj. of a relative clause in virtual Oratio Obliqua, depending on a verb of *thinking* to be supplied from *respectus*. The plup. represents a future perf. indic.

§ 3. **Bruttiis**. *Bruttii* or *Bruttii* (Gk. Βρέττιοι is the only correct form in Latin for the name of this district. There is no noun *Bruttium*, though *Bruttius ager*, 'the Bruttian territory,' is common (e.g. c. 12. 1); for *Bruttii*, the name of the people used as the name of the district, cf. *Locri*.

armatu for *armatura*, nearly confined to Livy.

quam poterat aptissimus = *tam aptissimus quam poterat*, 'as fully prepared as he could be for a speedy journey.'

tamen refers to *ad maturandum ibi*, and has its meaning further pointed by *tam rapim eantem*, 'in spite of his speed he was accompanied.'

§ 4. **Galatiam**: the situation is unknown.

circumsedentis, 'the besiegers of Capua,' τοὶς περιτειχίζοντας.

§ 5. **esset**: subj. depending on a verb of saying to be supplied from *nuntiis*.

eodem: sc. *tempore*.

et illi, 'they on their part,' καὶ αὐτοί.

praebuit: sc. *Romanis*.

§ 7. **ut in re trepida**, 'considering that it was an anxious moment,' ὡς θεωρβούμενοι, so c. 8. 2; cf. *ut ubi*, 'considering that it was at a place where,' c. 46. 2.

indefensi, 'any part at all unguarded,' perf. part. used as a noun; cf. *cum delectis peditum*, § 3 above; this usage is quite a feature of Livy's style; for further exx. see *ostentum*, c. 6. 14; *ineptum*, c. 7. 2; for *aliquid* after *ne* (in place of *quid*) cf. c. 49. 6.

§ 8. **equitibus**: three hundred cavalry were the usual complement for each legion, so that Nero would have 1,800 Roman horse under his orders; the allies furnished a rather larger number (*socialis equitatus*).

uia: abl. of direction, 'along the road.'

fert, 'leads to,' Gk. φέρει.

e regione, 'in the direction of,' lit. 'from the *line* of' (this being the original meaning of *regio*); cf. *a regione urbis*, c. 42. 6.

§ 9. **solito modo** : *solito* agrees with *clamore* and *modo* goes with *non* ('not only' ; for *solito clamore* cf. *clamor Romanus haudquaquam ignotus*, c. 40. 10.

tumultu, 'confusion.'

sed ad alium, 'but in addition to the noise of the men and horses and the clash of arms, the crowd of non-combatants, in groups along the walls, rattled bronze vessels with the din so often made during the silence of night at an eclipse of the moon, and raised such a shout, as to distract the attention of the very combatants.' The beating of bronze during an eclipse was supposed to frighten away the evil spirit who was devouring or extinguishing the moon ; see Lang, *Myth, Ritual, and Religion*, i. 133, and Juv. vi. 442 f. For the use of *aucteretur* cf. c. 38. 1 ; for *alium* see note on c. 16. 6. The whole passage is closely paralleled by the description of the siege of Ucana in xliii. 10. 5 *duabus simul partibus crumpitur, et ad clamorem crumpentium ingens strepitus e muris ortus abundantium numerum cum crepitu undique aeris, et inensurata multitudo, turba inimica seruidi, variis uocibus personabat*.

§ 10. **Hannibal et Poeni** : in apposition to *maior vis*, the verb, as often, agreeing with the nouns in apposition to the actual subject of the sentence.

§ 11. **qua pulsa** = *et ea pulsa*, 'and, on its retreat.'

in ancipiti spe, 'and was distracted between the hope of breaking through into the camp and the risk of being cut off from its own side' : *spe ac periculo* form a kind of compound noun with which *ancipiti* agrees, 'a perplexing compound of hope and fear' ; *spe* refers to *pertransiret*, *periculo* to *intercluderetur* ; for the order of the words cf. c. 13. 18 ; 20. 4 ; and for the phrase cf. c. 37. 1.

§ 12. **Nauium** : see c. 4. 10.

primores centurionum = *centuriones primorum ordinum* or *primi ordinis*, the centurions of the third line (*triarii*), who held a position higher than those of the two lines of *principes* and *hastati* ; chief among them was the *primipilus*, the first centurion of the legion.

ueri, 'that the action was now at its most critical point' depends on verb of saying in *hortatur* : for the use cf. i. 30. 8 *ueri in co res uidetur*.

§ 13. **aut uiam**, 'let way once be made for them, and they would burst into the camp with less effort than it had cost them to break through the compact ranks of the legions.'

§ 14. **magni certaminis** : gen. of description 'involving much fighting.'

et quae, 'and a line which seems pierced now, since the Romans quail, will, if once it closes in upon its foes from both sides, involve them in a twofold attack.' *Romanus* here = *Romani* ; this use of the singular for the plural is rather poetic, cf. c. 39. 7 ; the proper name is used to emphasize the situation, 'even the Romans are quailing.'

§ 15. **secundi hastati** = *secundi manipuli hastatarum*, 'the second manipulus of the *hastati*,' or first line of the legion, which was now in retreat ; along

with the second line, or *principes*, it had already been broken through and scattered, retiring, as was customary, to the rear to reform; cf. *primi principis*, 'the first maniples of the principes,' c. 6. 1.

iacturum : sc. *sc.*

medios eos, i. e. *hostes*.

§ 16. **corpus**, 'his was a commanding figure, and his armour set it off to advantage'; we should have expected *ingentis corporis erat*.

conuerterat, 'had by this time attracted.'

§ 17. **uis**, 'numbers,' corresponds to *multitudo*, which is seldom used of inanimate objects (though it is sometimes found in this sense, e. g. *Caes. B. G. ii. 32 armorum magna multitudo*). Note the chiasmus.

eius uiri, 'the hero.'

CHAPTER VI

§ 1. **primi principis** : see c. 5. 15 *secundi hastati*.

pro uallo, 'on the rampart': for this use of *pro* cf. *pro tribunali*, c. 38. 8; *pro ripa*, c. 41. 6. The attacks of Navius and Atilius were made, apparently, on the flank of the Spaniards while they were still engaged on the assault. Livy does not explain how the elephants were being got across or what they were coming over for.

conficiunt : cf. *conficiendos* in c. 5. 13.

§ 2. **iniecto**. Zeugma: 'just as if earth had been thrown in, or a bridge thrown across.'

stragem, 'the prostrate bodies of the elephants as they lay'—a redundancy of expression not uncommon in Livy; cf. c. 16. 4.

§ 3. **altera**, 'on the opposite side.'

fert : a slight carelessness of expression for *qua via Vulturum fert*; cf. c. 40. 8.

pugnabatur : *impers. passive* 'a fight was raging,' specially common with verbs denoting bodily activity.

§ 4. **neque tam**, 'the in-rush of the Romans was opposed not so much by the armed men as by the *scorpiones* and *ballistae* planted on the gate which were keeping the enemy at bay, by discharging missiles from a distance'; *porta* is not the logical subject but *porta ballistis scorpionibusque instructa*, 'the fact that the gate was provided with,' cf. note on c. 2. 14; the *impfts. resistebant* and *arcebat* denote attempted action; for *scorpiones* and *ballistae* see c. 47. 6 n.

§ 5. **cui** : *datiuus incommodi*; translate by a possessive case.

gaeso : a javelin with a large leaf-shaped point; it was a Gallic weapon (see *Revue Celtique*, July, 1904, p. 229 sq.).

uis, 'large numbers'; cf. c. 5. 17.

§ 6. **defendi** : *castra . . . defendi* takes the place of an abstract noun like

castrorum defensionem, to correspond to *stragem*; such changes of construction are frequent in Latin through its comparative poverty in abstract nouns.

obiecto, 'screening his rear with the cavalry'; cf. c. 42. 6 *his ab tergo . . . nullum obiectum est*.

§ 7. **cani**: imperis, 'ordered the retreat to be sounded' lit. 'ordered (the note) to be sounded for retreat'.

satis, 'thinking that enough had been done to secure both that the Capuans should feel how little Hannibal could protect them and that Hannibal should feel it too.' *profectum*, sc. *esse*, impersonal passive. *atramque* is explained by *et . . . et*; *sentiret* agrees in sense with both *Capuani* and *Hannibal*, but is construed with the nearer subject; for *quam leve multum* cf. c. 16. 13 *quam nihil*.

§ 8. **auctores**, 'authorities for'; cf. the use in c. 4. 10: Livy does not name his authorities as a general rule except where he has to criticize their accounts. Here perhaps he means Valerius Antias who was noted for his exaggerations, cf. xxxiii. 10. 8 *Valerio . . . omnium rerum inmodice numerum augenti*.

§ 9. **cum**: here, as often, merely introducing details of a narrative, 'the Numidians bursting into the Roman camp . . .'; for the use of *cum* cf. *per dies aliquot, cum ab stationibus proarsaret, multa equidem perditamque . . . praefuit*, xxvii. 2. 11.

inopinato, adverbial; so *necopinato*.

§ 10. **fugam**, 'causing the baggage-animals to break loose and stampede.'

§ 11. **fraudem**. Appian *Hann.* 41 represents this stratagem as being resorted to by Hannibal during his retreat from Rome in a night attack upon Fulvius' army.

habitu: abl. of description.

consulum uerbis, 'in the name of the consuls'; so, *meis uerbis*, 'from me,' &c.

essent: subj. in reported speech.

pro se quemque, 'each as best he could'; see c. 36. 11.

proximos montis: this is absurd, as the mountains were, to the knowledge of the Romans, held by Hannibal. The phrase ἐπὶ τὸν ἑγγὺς λόφον is all right in Appian i.e. 'who lays the scene in the Sabine territory. Livy has probably taken it from the same source as Appian but misplaced it.

§ 12. **igni**: by frightening them with lighted torches, &c.

§ 13. **utcumque**, 'however begun and ended.' Livy does not commit himself to the details *inter discrepantiam auctorum*.

medix tuticus: lit. 'community-manager'; the Oscan name for chief magistrate; cf. Mommsen, *R. II.* i. 315.

§ 14. **pupillo**, 'when under her guardianship'; his father must have been dead at the time.

procurantem, 'offering sacrifice in expiation of a portent that had happened in their home.' *ostentum*, acc. to Weissenborn-Müller, is found only here in Livy.

summum quod = *id imperium quod summum esset Capuae, ad eum peruenienturum*.

nihil ad, 'seeing nothing to lead her to expect it'; for *eam* see note on *ea cura*, c. 1. 3.

§ 15. **ne**: an interjection = 'verily,' used only before personal pronouns. 'Your tale means the ruin of Campania the day the chief magistracy comes to my son.'

§ 16. **ludificatio**, 'this mocking version of his true prophecy turned out to be itself prophetic.' *ludificatio* abstract for concrete. *vertit* used intransitively; *et ipsa*, i.e. as well as the prophecy of the *haruspex*.

sisti: impersonal passive 'that a stand could be made.'

iis detrectantibus: abl. abs. of attendant circumstances.

in spem, 'who, from the position of their family, might hope for office'; cf. *educatus in spem paterni regni*, xxviii. 35. 10.

§ 17. **querendo**. The abl. of the gerund is often thus used in Livy in place of a present part. = *querens*; cf. ii. 32. 4; x. 31. 15; xxii. 14. 7 '*qui . . . Saguntum oppugnari indignando . . . foderat et deos ciebanus*'; xxiv. 26. 11 (quoted by Riemann, *Études*, p. 308).

CHAPTER VII

§ 1. **elici**: not depending on *posse*, but representing *eliciuntur* of the direct 'are not to be enticed'; for this use of the present indic. v. Kennedy, *Publ. Sch. Lat. Gr.* § 91 A 3 (a).

perrumpi: impersonal passive depending on *posse*.

ad, 'towards.'

§ 2. **noui consules**, c. 1. 1; Hannibal, of course, did not know that they were not to be sent to Capua.

§ 3. **quonam**, 'in what possible direction he could turn his steps next': *pergere ire* does not mean 'to proceed to go' but 'to direct one's going,' *pergo* = *per-rego*.

subiit animum, 'occurred to him,' ἐπιῆλθεν αὐτῷ. *Romam*, to which *caput ipsam belli* is in apposition, is governed by *petendi*, v. note on c. 4. 2.

cuius rei, 'that the opportunity for this long-wished-for move had been let slip after the battle of Cannae was the common complaint of his followers, and Hannibal himself could not deny it.' It is more than doubtful whether Hannibal thought anything of the kind. 'He knew Rome better than the simpletons who in ancient and modern times have fancied that he might have terminated the struggle by a march on the enemy's capital' (Mommsen, *R. H.* ii. 302 E. T.).

§ 4. **necopinato**: here an adj. agreeing with *pauore*.

posse depends on *desperandum esse* which in turn depends on *subitum animum* (§ 3).

§ 5. **diuississent**: representing a future perfect indic. in Oratio Recta, so *abscessisset* below.

fortunam, 'a chance of success.'

daturos: the subject is *utrumque* = *ambo*, hence the plural; the logical subject is, of course, *utrumque . . . factum*, 'the weakening of them both,' cf. c. 6. 4 n.

§ 6. **dederentur** has a middle force 'should surrender themselves.'

audenda agendaque: pleonasm, like our 'do and dare.'

altera, 'on the opposite side'; cf. c. 6. 3.

clam: adverbial, the usual prose construction.

§ 7. **adhortatione**: see Roby, § 1212, for the abl. after *plenis*.

defendendam . . . oppugnanda: v. note on c. 3. 10 *potiunda*: here *defendendam* represents a future part. passive, while *oppugnanda* represents a pres. part. pass.; cf. Roby, § 1403.

§ 8. **desponderent**: representing a pres. or perf. subj. of the Oratio Recta, 'let them not lose heart.' *despondere*, lit. = 'to give in marriage,' then generally 'to lose' as here.

tolerando: abl. of means 'by holding out.'

soluturos: sc. *illos*.

§ 9. **subigi**, 'brought up stream'—a poetical use: cf. Virg. *Georg.* i. 202.

§ 10. **esse**: for the accus. and inf. in a relative clause, where the relative is equivalent to a demonstrative and a conjunction—here *et enim*, see Roby, § 1794.

allatum, 'word was brought.'

CHAPTER VIII

§ 1. **fieret**, 'before his project *could* be carried into effect'; subj. 'of an event expected and its prior occurrence prevented,' Roby, § 1672.

ita futurum . . . scripsisset: i. e. *scripsisset compertum esse ex transfugis id futurum esse*.

Romam, 'acc. of motion towards,' after the idea of *sending* implied in *scripsisset*.

hominum, 'the members' = *senatorum*, the meaning being fixed by *senatus* above: cf. c. 2. 1; 36. 1.

§ 2. **ut**: c. 5. 7.

Asinae: dative by attraction after *cui*; cf. *cui eunc cognomen Iulo*, Virg. *Aen.* i. 267; *cui Perconii fuit cognomen*, c. 39. 15.

reuocabat, 'wanted to recall'; cf. *transferebat*, c. 3. 1.

§ 3. **abscedi**, impersonal: for *a* before Capua see c. 3. 11 n.

ad nutus, 'to suit the whims'; cf. *ad uentos*, c. 39. 19.

§ 4. **tamen**, 'though victorious, yet . . .'

cepisse: infinitive of exclamation 'to think of his conceiving the idea'; cf. *me ne incepto desistere victam?* 'is it for me to give up my project and own defeat'? (Virg. *Aen.* i. 37) *cum* may be either subject of *cepisse*, or perhaps object, *spem* being then the subject, 'to think of a hope taking possession of him.'

§ 5. **liberandam**. We should have expected either *soluendam* or *Capuam liberandam obsidione*.

cum, 'with the help of.'

foederum, 'witness of Hannibal's breach of his treaty-obligations'; note the rhetorical force of the plural, and cf. xxi. 40. 11. The treaty referred to is the treaty with Hasdrubal in 226, in which he promised not to push his conquests beyond the Ebro, and to respect the Roman alliance with Saguntum. Hannibal was held to have broken this by his attack on Saguntum in 219.

§ 6. **media**: cf. c. 21. 4 *medium visum ut quans urbem iniret*, 'the middle course'; so *media via consilii*, ix. 3. 11.

utriusque rei memor: i. e. *memor et Romae defendendae et Capuae obsidendae*.

quid . . . esset, 'what was the strength of the garrison at Rome?' *praesidii*, partitive gen. after a word expressing quantity, Roby, § 1299.

aut, 'or else': if they did not know how many men Hannibal had they knew how many they required themselves, and the knowledge of either by itself was sufficient for the immediate purpose.

§ 7. **ita . . . ut**, 'if one of the generals . . . could be sent to Rome consistently with a proper maintenance of the blockade by the other.' Lit. 'could be sent in such a way that the blockade could be,' &c. For this restrictive use of *ita . . . ut* cf. Roby, § 1704; see also c. 28. 13 n.: the restrictive force is sometimes made more prominent by the addition of *tamen* after *ut* as in xxvii. 27. 14.

§ 8. **compararent**, 'come to an agreement'—a common use of the word in Livy.

utri: dative of the agent after the gerund *ueniundum*.

patriam, 'native city'; so frequently, e. g. c. 13. 15.

§ 9. **collega . . . aegro**: abl. absolute of attendant circumstances. For Appius' wound see c. 6. 5.

tribus: those of Fulvius, Appius, and Nero; c. 5. 8.

milite = *militibus*: cf. *Romanus* for *Romani*, c. 5. 14.

ad, 'as many as'; the compound phrase is here the object of *traducit*; such phrases may also take the place of a nom.; cf. c. 40. 14.

§ 10. **Latina via**. From Rome to Capua through the inland district.

satis, 'had made quite certain'; for *satis* = 'quite,' cf. c. 4. 5; 40. 5.

Appiae: sc. *viae*; it ran direct from Rome to Tarracina, thence along

the coast to Sinuessa, where striking inland it joined the Latin Way at Casilinum.

propter, 'near': *prope* is more usual in this sense: *propter* is, however found in Cicero (e. g. *Verr.* ii. 4. 90 *propter Marcellos*).

praemisit: sc. *nuntium*.

§ 11. **deuiis**, 'farms at a distance from the road.'

in uiam: for the use of the troops on their march to Rome. Cf. the similar precautions taken by Nero when marching against Hasdrubal in 207 (xxvii. 43. 10).

res publica, 'that they might have the resources of their several states under their control'; the clause depends on *praesidia* . . . *contraherent. cuique*, sc. *municipio*.

CHAPTER IX

§ 2. **agrum Sidicinum**, 'the territory of the Sidicini': their chief town was Teanum.

populando: v. note on c. 6. 17 *querendo*.

Casinatem: geographical names ending in *-um* often have adj. in *-as*; cf. *Aquinas* (fr. *Aquinum*), *Arpinas* (fr. *Arpinum*), &c.

ducit: sc. *exercitum*; cf. Gk. *ἐλαύνει*.

sub, 'under the walls of.'

biduo: note the use of the abl. instead of the acc. to denote duration of time, cf. c. 51. 3.

§ 4. **comparantem**. 'as he found it difficult to get boats made,' the pres. part. takes the place of a *quod*-clause.

§ 5. **per urbis** qualifies *expositis*.

alius alium: in partitive apposition to *mīlites*; the same idea might also be expressed by the adverbial phrases *invicem* (not in Cicero) and *inter se*.

adderet gradum. The phrase *addere gradum* seems to occur only here and in iii. 27. 6 and x. 20. 10 in Livy; it = 'put on step' (cf. *addere uirgas* in c. 16. 3, i. e. 'step out'); it is found in Lucan, iv. 760, and in Plin. *Jpp.* vi. 20. 12 *Tam mater crare, hortari, habere quoque modo fugerem . . . ego contra, subitum me nisi una non futurum: dein manum eius amplexus, addere gradum cogo*, where the meaning, sometimes assigned to the phrase, of quickening one's pace is out of the question.

iri: impersonal; so *itur* very frequently.

§ 6. **itinere continuato**, 'journeying without a break.'

tumultuosius, 'a mob of people, excited beyond what the tidings warranted and enlarging on their news with idle exaggeration, threw the whole city into confusion.' For the *ad-* in *adtingentium* cf. *adscribi* c. 2. 4 n.

§ 7. **ploratus**: where two clauses are co-ordinated by *non . . . modo* or

non . . . tantum) . . . *sed* (or *sed etiam* with different subjects, we often find the subject (*ploratus* here) of the first clause thrown to the very beginning of the sentence instead of being left in its own clause : for a similar case cf. c. 48. 3.

exaudiebatur, 'could be heard on the streets.'

discurrunt, 'run hither and thither.'

uerrentes, 'with dishevelled hair sweeping the altars': so Polybius ix. 6. 3 *πλύνουσαι ταῖς κόραις τὰ τῶν ἱερῶν ἐδάφη* ('floors'); as the hair was the symbol of youth and strength, the act denoted an absolute surrender to the god : cf. *Er. Luc.* vii. 38 *τοῖς δάκρυσιν ἤρξατο βρέχειν τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ καὶ ταῖς θριξὶν τῆς κεφαλῆς ἐξέμαζεν*.

§ 8. **supinas**, 'upturned.' The Romans prayed with the palms of their hands turned up to heaven.

§ 9. [**in foro**, i. e. in the *comitium* on the *senaculum*, a platform in the open air hard by the senate house. T.W.D.]

praesto, 'put themselves at the disposal of the magistrates.'

suas quisque : v. note on c. 3. 4.

partis, 'departments.'

quo, 'in case their services should be required at any point' (lit. 'in any direction') : for the gen. *operae* (usually the ablative)—a late usage—see Roby, § 1225.

arce: the east peak of the Capitol hill, separated from the *Capitolium* properly so called by the *Asylum*.

Albano: the Alban mount commanded the Latin Way which swept round the north of it : it is hard to see the object of a garrison at Aefula if Hannibal was coming by the *uia Latina*.

§ 10. **adfertur** : cf. *allatum est*, c. 7. 10.

uenisset : cf. *habuisset*, c. 5. 2 n.

decernit. The power (*imperium*) of a proconsul being purely military, it could not be exercised inside the *pomerium* except by special decree of the people, on the initiative of the Senate : thus a victorious general who wished to celebrate a triumph could not enter the city to ask for it, but had to meet the Senate outside the gates ; cf. c. 21. 1 n.

§ 11. **infestus**, 'with all the greater cruelty,' explained by *propter intercisos pontis*.

intercisos : see § 3.

§ 12. **Algido**, 'by way of Mount Algidus': he would turn off the Latin Way to do this.

nec . . . descendit = *et non receptus . . . descendit* ; cf. c. 20. 2.

dextrorsus, 'turning to the right' (contracted for *dextra uersus* : so *sinistrorsus*).

Pupiniam : i. e. the *ager Pupinensis* somewhere between Rome and Tusculum.

§ 13. **præcedentibus** : abl. abs. of cause : 'since the Numidians were in advance.'

plures, 'and the more' ; the force of *eo* covers both clauses.

aetatum : for this form of the gen. plural see Roby, § 445 : cf. *ciuitatium* c. 49. 1. For Hannibal's route from Capua to Rome see Appendix I.

CHAPTER X

§ 1. **porta Capena**, through which the Appian Way ran, joining the Latin Way a short distance outside the gates. On the exact position of the gate see Prof. Dougan's note to Cic. *Tusc. Disp.* i. § 13.

media urbe, 'right through the city' ; for the abl. cf. *Algida*, c. 9. 12.

Carinas : the quarter of the city situated on the Fagutal, the sloping spur of the Esquiline overlooking the Forum.

Esquilias : at the east of the city.

inde, 'at that point passing outside he pitched his camp between,' &c. The porta Viminalis which Livy does not mention lay between the Colline and Esquiline gates.

§ 2. **aediles** : the *aediles* were entrusted with the *cura annonæ* : they, no doubt, brought the corn from the public magazines.

summa, 'the crisis,' lit. 'the highest interests of the state.'

frequentem, 'a full assemblage of the Senate.'

quid . . . consulto : see the thorough discussion of the use of *quid* in Roby, § 1255.

§ 3. **ad Anienem**. Since in c. 11. 1 Hannibal is represented as crossing the Anio to give battle, his camp must have been on the far side from Rome. Livy is following, therefore, from this point on, an authority who represented Hannibal as advancing on the city from the north, and not along the Latin Way. For *inter hæc* as a formula of transition from one authority to another cf. *per idem tempus*, c. 24. 1 ; 40. 1.

ad . . . usque ad, 'towards the Colline gate as far as the temple of Hercules' : where the temple was is not known.

unde proxime . . . contemplabatur, 'riding up, got as close a view as he could of the walls and the lie of the city.' Appian (*Hann.* 40) says this was done during the night.

§ 4. **licenter**, 'with such impunity.'

§ 5. **transfugas** : two hundred and seventy-two had gone over to the Romans after Hannibal's repulse at Nola in 215 (xxiii. 46. 6.).

Auentino. At the very south of the city.

ad . . . ducenti : *ad* in such expressions often loses its effect on the case : cf. *ad mille et septingenti cassi* xxii. 41. 2. [I take *ad* to be a preposition governing the phrase, which is treated as an indeclinable whole. Cf. Caes. *B. G.* ii. 33 quoted by Roby, § 1823. T. W. D.]

media urbe : see § 1.

Esquilias, 'to the Esquiline,' in order to join the army through the *Porta Esquilina*.

§ 6. **nullos**, 'they thought they could find no soldiers better fitted for fighting in a district where there were hollows and garden-houses and funeral monuments and deep lanes to be met with on all hands.' Cf. 'Tacitus' description of the fighting between the Flavian and Vitellian armies here in 70 A. D. (*H.* iii. 82).

ex arce : goes with *uidissent*.

cliuo Publicio leading from the Aventine to the *Forum Boarium*, which they had to cross : it was in full view of the Capitol.

captum : they thought Hannibal had made a détour and entered the city to the south, perhaps through the *Porta Raulusculana*.

§ 7. **effusura** : they would have rushed away from the Aventine and gone out by one of the gates to the east.

tecta, 'buildings,' contrasted with *domos*, 'private houses.'

§ 8. **pecorum** : brought in to prevent their capture by the enemy.

§ 9. **proelium** : see § 4.

temere = *sine causa*, 'needlessly' : *temere* was originally the abl. of a lost neuter *temus* and lit. = 'in the dark' (Lindsay, *Hist. Lat. Gr.* 123).

cum imperio, 'armed with military power.'

§ 10. **diei . . . nocte** : the compound phrase *diei . . . nocte* is co-ordinate with *nocte insequenti* and is treated as an abl. along with it.

temere goes with *excitati*.

CHAPTER XI

§ 1. **Flaccus** : the consuls do not seem to have been men of much military capacity : P. Sulpicius Galba had never held a curule office before (xxv. 41. 11) : cf. c. 1. 2 and note.

§ 2. **in . . . casum**, 'to decide the issue of a fight in which Rome was to be the prize of the victory' : *esset*, consecutive subj.

receperint : Roby, § 1516.

nullius, 'afraid of nothing less than the enemy.'

§ 3. **recepissent** : subj. of indefinite frequency : *ubi* = 'whenever,' as is shown by *oriturus*, 'there would come.' Cicero would here have used the pluperfect indicative, v. Roby, § 1716 : cf. c. 45. 7.

§ 4. **religionem**, 'this phenomenon was regarded by the Carthaginians as an omen.'

mentem, 'inclination,' referring to his refusal to follow Maharbal's advice and march on Rome after Cannae (xxii. 51. 1 sqq.).

§ 5. **eius**, 'his hope,' not 'the hope of it,' which would be *eam spem*.

quod : explanatory, 'the fact that' : cf. note on c. 2. 16 and Kennedy, *Publ. Sch. Lat. Gr.* § 196.

[**sederet** : the word implies culpable inactivity : cf. Donatus on Ter. *Ad.* 672 ; Virg. *Geo.* iii. 456 *maliora deos sobet curia passus* ; so καθῆσθαι in Gk., cf. Thuc. iv. 124. 4 ἐβούλετο προΐέναι . . . καὶ μὴ καθῆσθαι. T. W. D.]

uxillis : detachments of soldiers separated for any cause from their legion served under a separate standard (*uxillum*) of their own for the time being ; sometimes *uxillum* means a 'detachment' (Tac. *H.* i. 70).

Hispaniae : dat. after *supplementum*.

§ 6. **ob id** : i. e. *quod ibi ipse castra habebat*.

§ 7. **adeo**, 'showed such an amount of pride and disdain' : *superbum* refers to the action as an indication of the temper of the Romans, *antiquum* refers to it from the point of view of Hannibal's feelings.

solī : gen. after *emplorem*.

possideret haberetque, 'was in occupation and possession of' : *possideret* does not imply absolute ownership ; it is used e. g. of the occupation of the *ager publicus* by a lessee.

praecone, 'auctioneer.'

tabernas argentarias, 'bankers' offices' to the north of the Forum : they were burned down in 210 (cf. c. 27. 2, where see note).

§ 8. **his** : the *duae res* of § 5.

lucum Feroniae, on Mt. Soracte : it was the scene of a great Italian fair to which Etruscans, Sabines, and Latins came : the fair was the foundation of the wealth of the shrine (Mommsen, *R. H.* i. 250 sq.).

templum : in apposition to *lucum* : the original meaning of *templum* was 'a place marked out' by an augur, hence a 'consecrated spot,' 'sacred building.'

diuitiis : cf. Silius Italicus' description (xiii. 86 sqq.) *fama est habitata longae ab origine fani | creuisse, in mediam campis undique donis, | immensa per tempus opes, lustrisque relictum | innumeris auram solo soracate petere*.

§ 9. **accolae** seems to have been a kind of *pecunia propria* with regard to temples, denoting those living near and bound to the observance of certain duties connected with the shrine, cf. Cic. *Verr.* ii. 4. 111 ; Sil. Ital. *Pun.* i. 414.

eo = *ad id*.

pro copia, 'in proportion to their means.'

aeris, 'large heaps of copper were found on Hannibal's departure : for his soldiers moved by remorse for the sacrilege, threw down bars of copper as offerings.' It was customary to throw into wells and sacred places pieces of money or uncoined metal (*stipes*) as offerings to the god : Hannibal's soldiers did so here to atone for their sacrilege.

§ 10. **Coelius**. Coelius Antipater, a Roman historian who lived in the time of the Gracchi and wrote a history of the Second Punic War : his work seems to have been superior both in style and substance to those of the older annalists (see Teuffel, *Rom. Lit.* § 137 E.T.).

Coelius differed from the other annalists in asserting that Hannibal plundered the *lucus Feroniae* on his way to Rome: he cannot then have supposed him to have come by the Latin Way. On the whole question see Appendix I.

iterque, 'and he traces his march (sc. to Eretum from Reate, Cutiliae, and Amiternum,' i.e. after leaving Amiternum he struck the *via Valeria* near Cutiliae and marched along it via Reate to Eretum, whence he turned off sharp to the right to plunder the temple on Mt. Soracte. This would of course involve his crossing the Tiber, not a very probable move either on his way to or from Rome. [He joined the *via Salernitana* at Interocrea six miles before he reached Cutiliae. T. W. D.]

§ 11. **ex Campania**: this sentence describes his march beginning at the other end, Capua, and bringing the description up to Amiternum, from which point he has already traced his route to Rome.

Albensi, 'through the territory of Alba,' i.e. Alba Fucensis (or Fucentis) to the north-west of Lake Fucinus on the *via Valeria*: for the abl. cf. *media urbe*, c. 10. 1. Appian (*Hann.* 39) says that the town sent two thousand soldiers to Rome on the news of Hannibal's intended attack.

§ 12. **neque ibi**, 'the variation is not caused by the possibility of the traces of such an army and such a general being obliterated within the lapse of such a short space of time—for all are agreed that he really went (*isse*, sc. *eum*.) by that route: the only difference in the accounts relates to the question whether that was his route to Rome or from Rome back to Campania': *tam brevis aevi* is the time that elapsed between the events and the date of Coelius' history.

[**error**, 'cause of error'; cf. *Act.* ii. 48 *aut aliquis latet error*; vi. 27 *inextricabilis error*; x. 392 *gratusque parentibus error*; Mart. v. 49. 8 *hic error tibi profuit Decembri*. Similarly *metus* often = 'cause of fear.' T. W. D.]

CHAPTER XII

§ 1. **quantum . . . tantum**, 'Hannibal's pertinacity in . . . was no match for that of the Romans in . . .'

§ 2. **fretum**: sc. *Siciliense*; cf. c. 29. 4 n.

eo cursu, 'with such speed'; cf. Caes. *B. G.* v. 18 *eo impetu milites ierunt*.

incautos: sc. *Reginos*: Rhegium was the *statio* for the Roman fleet (c. 39. 2).

oppresserit: Cicero uses the perfect subj. after a secondary tense in such sentences only to imply that the result of the action is now apparent, not in giving the past result of a past action: Livy employs it in both senses, v. Riemann, *Études*, p. 257.

§ 3. **eos dies** : while Hannibal was threatening Rome.

regressum : acc. and inf. depending on *admiratio orta est* (= *mirati sunt*), 'surprise that Hannibal did not come back along with him.'

§ 4. **conloquia** : conversations between the soldiers of the two sides.

deploratam, 'had been given up for lost,' a use of the word not found in Cicero. ['given up as lost,' cf. ix. 7. 1 *cum* . . . *deploratum paenitentia Romanorum nomen esset*. At a certain stage in the funeral ceremony a loud wail was set up : from this the metaphor in the text is taken. Cf. Ter. *And.* 129 *in ignem impositus* : *pletur* ; Tibullus, iii. 2. 25. A similar metaphor was derived from the *conclamatio* ; cf. Ter. *Lam.* 348 *iam conclamatumst*. T. W. D.]

§ 5. **sine fraude**, 'any citizen of Capua who came over by a fixed date should be secured against harm' : *sine fraude esse* is an impers. phrase followed by the dat., here *ei* to be understood as antecedent to *qui* : cf. xxx. 19. 9 *latum ad populum est, ne G. Servilio fraudi esset*.

§ 6. **quibus** : neuter, like *maiora*.

posset : consecutive subj.

§ 7. **quem ad modum . . . ita**, 'though . . . yet' : cf. the use of *ut* . . . *ita* in c. 37. 6 ; 41. 9.

in medium : *εις τὸ κοινόν*, 'no useful measure was being devised for the common safety' : for *in medium* cf. Virg. *G.* iv. 157 *in medium quoties ita reponunt*.

§ 8. **nobilitas** = *nobiles*, abstract for concrete : the verb is in the plural by a construction common in Livy, but rare in Cicero and Caesar. Roby. § 1434.

in magistratu : cf. c. 6. 13.

qui non, 'who so far from procuring himself honour by holding it, had by his unfitness deprived the office he held of its proper weight and claim to allegiance' : the subjs. are consecutive : for the thought cf. Sall. *Or. Lepidi*, § 21 *Fufidius . . . honorum omnium dehonestamentum*.

§ 9. **ne . . . quidem**, 'not even in the forum,' not to speak of the senate-house : *neque in senatum cogi poterant* (§ 8).

patriae : v. note on c. 8. 8.

in dies, 'from day to day = *diem de die* : *in* gives the idea of progression, and so the phrase is generally, though not exclusively, used with comparatives.

§ 10. **summa** : here a noun, as often : 'the whole weight of the anxiety,' cf. Caes. *B. G.* v. 11 *summa imperii bellicae administrandi . . . permissa Cassiellauno*.

sociorum : i. e. *Campanorum*.

§ 11. **ii** : a *nominativus pendens* : the main verb is forgotten owing to the length of what was intended for a parenthesis (*quibus . . . fore*).

conscriptis : in place of the more usual *scriptis*, has a somewhat

formal sense, 'composed': cf. Cic. *ad Att.* xiii. 50. *1 conscripsi de his ipsis libris epistulam Caesari*, of a formal explanation.

Capuam: acc. and inf. depending on *incusabant* = *accusantes dicebant*.

§ 12. **auertentem**, 'turning his back, as it were, on the sight of the capture of Capua': for *in oculis*, 'before one's eyes,' cf. *in ore*, Tac. *II.* iii. 77: see also c. 35. 7.

hercule, cf. c. 2. 12. n.

§ 13. **tanto**, 'so much more firmness did the Romans show in their hostility than the Carthaginians in their friendship': for the sing. *Romanum* and *Poenum* v. note on c. 5. 14 [*inimicum* is used instead of *hostem* to point the antithesis to *amicum*. T.W.D.].

redeat: change of sequence, as so often.

§ 14. **transisse**: sc. *se*: for the omission, not infrequent in Livy, see Madv. § 401.

sic: explained by *coeundo . . . temptando* which are abl. of instrument: the *que* connects *coeundo* and *conferendo castra* closely into one idea, 'meeting the enemy and encamping in view of them.'

§ 15. **operam**, 'volunteering their services for the purpose': the phrase is contracted for *professis se operam duros huic rei*: for *eam* agreeing with *operam* instead of a dat. after *operam* cf. *eam spem*, c. 6. 14.

tempore, 'opportunity' = *occasione*.

nulli non: οὐδενὶ ὅτι οὐ = *omnibus*.

probabilem, 'plausible.'

§ 16. **transfugarum**: for *ex transfugis*: Cicero employs a partitive gen. with *unus* only in enumerations (*unus . . . alter*, &c.) or where the total number has been previously expressed '*novem . . . quorum unus*'; v. Riemann, *Études*, p. 268.

§ 17. **id**: 'she was prepared to convict one of them of this': for *id*, the acc. of extent, only with neuter pronouns, v. Roby. § 1094.

satis, 'quite composedly': for *satis* cf. c. 4. 6.

ueris, 'facts'; the plural gives the idea of *details* and is not merely equivalent to *vero*, 'the truth.'

posci: sc. *a Fulvio*.

§ 18. **celabatur**, 'which had been kept back till now,' probably an imperfect denoting attempted action; cf. *transferebat*, c. 3. 1.

et alios, 'that others as well . . .'

§ 19. **nouis**, 'recent': they were included to make sure perhaps that *all* implicated were punished.

praecisis, 'cut off' at the wrists'; v. note on *praefixa*, c. 4. 4.

conspectum: perf. part., 'the sight of this cruel punishment'; v. note on c. 2. 14.

animos, 'resolution,' c. 44. 8.

CHAPTER XIII

§ 1. **populi** goes with *concursus*.

consiliis : abstract for concrete, 'meetings for deliberation.'

unenirent : *unissent* 'representing *univitis* of O.R. would have been more idiomatic.

in publicum ['into the street,' T.W.D.] : *publicum* is opposed to *privatum*, both being used as nouns, 'a public place,' 'a private place': cf. ix. 7. *II se in suis quisque tectis abdiderunt ut . . . nemo eorum forum aut publicum aspicere uellet : consules in privato nihil pro magistratu agere.*

is, 'fear of this' : v. note on c. i. 3.

frequentem : c. 10. 2.

§ 2. **ibi** : i. e. *in senatu*.

agerent = *sententiam darent, censerent*.

Vibius Virrius, called *Ἰούβιος τῆς Οὐρίπτος* in Zonaras ix. 6. In xxiii. 6. 1 the MSS. read *ubius virrius*, or *ubius ul.*, here *aiuias airrius* : in Silius Ital. xi. 65 we find simply *airrius*. Mommsen *Unterital. Ital.* 267 inclines to the view that *Iuius* not *Vibius* is the right form : the word may come from root of *inuare* as *Gaius* from root of *gaudere*.

auctor, 'instigator' ; cf. c. 4. 10.

§ 3. **facturi fuerint** : Roby, § 1521.

patiendum sit, 'what a fate was in store for themselves' : *ipsis* represents *vobis* of the *Oratio Recta*.

§ 4. **eam**, 'Do you imagine this will be a surrender like that in which we once surrendered ourselves and our property to the Romans to secure their help against the Samnites?' The reference is to the treaty between Rome and Capua in 343 before the First Samnite War. Mommsen, *R. H.* i. pp. 456 sqq.

§ 5. **tempore**, 'at what a crisis' : this meaning of *tempus* is more usual with the plural in Cicero.

iam : sc. *e memoria excessit*.

praesidium : sc. *Romanum*.

poterat, 'might have been' : for the indie. see Madv. § 348 c.

ad contumeliam : *ad* denotes the purpose, *per* the accompanying circumstances, 'with torture, to show our contempt for them.'

§ 6. **quotiens . . . quam** : note the double interr., 'How often and how fiercely' : cf. *considera, Piso, quis quem fraudasse dicatur*, Cic. *Pro Q. Rosc.* 7. § 21.

eruperimus : this and the following subj. to *miserimus* depend upon *e memoria excessit* to be carried on.

hoc : subject to *excessit* understood : before the clause *ad . . . miserimus* another *quod* is strictly speaking required, 'the fact that we sent,' but it

is omitted to avoid the awkwardness of a second *quod* so soon after the other.

§ 7. **repetite** : sc. *memoria*, 'recall.'

habeatis, 'may know' : with this use of *habere* cf. Gk. ἔχειν.

cum, 'although.'

et, 'and that enemy Hannibal.'

cuncta, 'the country was ablaze with war' : the metaphor is common : cf. Cic. Verr. ii. 5. § 8 *cum bello sacrorum tota Italia arderet*, Caes. B. G. v. 29 *ardere Galliam* ; Liv. xxvii. 39. 9, etc.

§ 8. **alterum** : for *iam alterum*, 'now for two years.'

macerant : present indic. after *alterum annum*, on the analogy of phrases like *iundudum, iampridem* ; 'they have been starving us,' Roby. § 1460.

et ipsi . . . perpassi, 'and that too although they on their part have, like ourselves, endured' : cf. the use of *et* in § 7 and the Gk. καὶ ταῦτα παθόντες καὶ αὐτοί : note the redundancy in *et ipsi nobiscum*.

exuti, 'almost driven from their camp at the last' : for the phrase cf. xxii. 21. 4 *magna parte armis exuta* : for *ad extremum* cf. *ad ultimum*, c. 38. 13.

§ 9. **illud** : referring to what follows, Gk. ἐκεῖνο : cf. Cic. Lael. § 88, where the explanatory clause is introduced by *nam*.

§ 10. **Hannibal . . . obsidione** : note the co-ordination in place of subordination of the first clause to the second : the *indicium* was that though H. attacked them, yet they did not move : but in place of a dependent clause beginning with *cum* or *quomodo* we have an independent sentence *Hannibal . . . cepit* : so in the sentences following.

ex parte, 'half captured' : for this use of *pars* = *pars dimidia* cf. vi. 42. 2 *de decemviris sacrorum ex parte de plebe creandis legem perturbare* : *creati quinque patrum, quinque plebis*.

perussit, 'wasted with fire and sword' ; cf. *agros urchant*, c. 21. 15.

§ 11. **nihil** : a strong negative, 'not in the least' : so *nullus* sometimes in Comedy and Cicero's letters : cf. *nullum*, c. 41. 13.

tempestatem, 'the lowering storm,' a common metaphor for war or trouble : cf. *tempesta horribilis Gallici adveniens*, Cic. Rep. ii. 6. 11 ; Dem. de Cor. 292 F *εἰ δὲ συμβὰς σκηπτὸς μὴ μόνον ἡμῶν . . . μέϊζαν γέγονεν*.

eis : dative.

§ 12. **bestias** : *bestia* in itself denotes every kind of animal with the exception of man : for a good example of this use of the word see Cic. Lael. § 81 : later it = 'wild beast' : *fera* is also used by itself as 'wild beast.'

pergas . . . auertas : for the second pers. sing. subj. used instead of an indef. subject (Eng. 'one') cf. Roby, § 1544.

§ 13. **hinc prope**, 'could almost be heard at this distance' : for *exaudiebantur* cf. c. 9. 7.

sepulcra : c. 10. 6 : for the use of the perf. part. pass. cf. note on 2. 14.

§ 14. **nec iniuria**, 'and rightly so, perhaps': *iniuria* (abl.) = 'wrongly,' its opposite being *iure*.

itaque, 'so, since the immortal gods have decreed to overrule our plans (*aliter* = *alio, quam nobis*), and I must not even shrink from death, at least I can avoid the tortures and insults which the enemy have in store, while I am still free and master of my own movements, by a death which is not only honourable, but painless as well': *potens* with the *gen.* is not used by Cicero.

§ 15. **subnixos**, 'swollen with the insolence of victory': for this metaphorical use cf. xxv. 41. 1 *subnixum victoria*.

uinctus: led in chains after the *currus triumphalis*.

spectaculum, 'to be stared at in their triumph': for *spectaculum* cf. c. 5. 16.

carcere: the Tullianum, near the foot of the Capitol to the NE. i 33. 8; Sall. *Cat.* 55).

ad palum: c. 15. 8.

cervicem: always in the plural in Cicero: cf. *Phil.* ii. 21. 51 *cervices* . . . *subiciti securi*; so often in Livy, *utrum cum in cervicibus suis* c. xlv. 39. 7): *ne* . . . *velut in cervicibus haberent hostem* (xxvii. 26. 9).

patriam: c. 8. 8.

§ 16. **oriundi**, 'whence they themselves took their rise': for this use of the Gerundial form in *-undus* (= a pres. part.) cf. Roby, § 817.

stirpis: nom. 'their parent stock.'

nedum . . . **credam**, 'much less can I think.' *nedum* lit. 'lest still,' 'the prevention of the occurrence of the greater event being rhetorically regarded as the purpose of the occurrence of the less event,' Roby, § 1658.

§ 17 **uestrum**: partitive genitive: the forms *uestrum* and *uestrum* are alone employed in this sense.

uideant: subj. due to idea of purpose.

apud me, 'in my house.'

§ 18. **fuerit**, 'has first been given to me.'

oculos, 'your eyes from seeing, and your ears from hearing the cruel and insulting fate which awaits the conquered': *oculis*, *audendis* answer to *auris*, *audendis*, as *auribus* answers to *indignis*; for the order of the words cf. c. 20. 4 n.

rogo: dat. after *incipiant*.

propatulo, 'the courtyard of the house.'

exanima: the adj. *exanimis* uses in the plural the forms of the earlier *exanimus*, Roby, § 412.

CHAPTER XIV

§ 1. **plures**, 'there were more to listen to this speech with applause than had the courage to go the length of doing what they applauded.'

§ 2. **clementiam**. Livy's patriotism is stronger than his impartiality: *clementia* was what the Romans showed to no one unless they had something to gain by it.

placabilem, 'never doubting but that it would be granted to their prayers.'

§ 3. **alienatis**, 'banishing from their minds their foreboding of approaching doom.'

§ 4. **misso**, 'rising from table': cf. *mittere senatum*, 'to dismiss the senate.'

§ 5. **uenae**. 'their veins, after a surfeit of food and wine, retarded the action of the poison in producing a speedy death'; *inpletar* is made, rather inaccurately, to agree with *uenae* instead of with some word referring to the patient. Poison was supposed by the ancients to work through the veins: cf. Cic. *pro Cluent.* § 173 *celerius potuit comestum quam epotum se. uenenari in uenas atque in omnis partis corporis permanere?* and Hor. *C.* i. 37, 28. This banquet of Virrius had many a counterpart under the Terror of the Early Empire. Cf. Tacitus' description of the last hours of Petronius (*Ann.* xvi. 19).

animam, 'had battled for breath': cf. Sen. *Apoc.* 3 *Claudius animam agere coepit nec inuenire exitum poterat.*

aperirentur: subj. though without any notion of purpose. Roby, § 1674.

§ 6. **porta Iouis**: so called because leading probably to some Temple of Jupiter: cf. the *πύλαι Ὀγκας Ἀθάνας* at Thebes (*Aesch. S. c. T.* 486) where there was a temple to Ἀθάνα Ὀγκα just outside.

iussu proconsulis: the city had been surrendered, § 2.

ea: abl., 'through it.'

alae: squadrons of allied cavalry: Fulvius had the *socialis equitatus* under his command (c. 5. 8).

§ 7. **conferenda**: the gerundial construction is very common after verbs like *curare*, *locare*, *praeesse*, *praeficere*, &c.

dispositis: c. 5. 9.

§ 8. **quo**=*ad quos*: cf. Cic. *Verr.* ii. 4. § 38 *homo . . . apud eos, quo se contulit, propter uirtutem splendidus.*

quaestores: as guardians of the military chest: cf. c. 47. 8.

pondo: 'two thousand and seventy pounds' weight,' the phrase *anni . . . septuaginta* forms a kind of compound noun, subject to *fuit*: for *pondo* (lit. by 'weight') cf. c. 36. 5.

§ 9. **in custodiam**, the inhabitants of Cales and Teanum would be responsible for them: cf. the proposal for disposing of the Catilinarian conspirators *per municipia in custodiis habendos*, Sall. *Cat.* 52. 13.

quorum, 'whose advice was proved to have been specially responsible for the revolt from Rome.'

CHAPTER XV

§ 1. **ueniae** : dative, 'Claudius was an easy person to gain pardon from' (lit. 'for the gaining of pardon'), Roby, § 1142.

§ 2. **reiciebat**, 'wished to throw the entire responsibility on the senate' : for the tense cf. *transferebat*, c. 3. 1.

§ 3. **percunctandi** : gen. depending on *potestatem*.

aliquis : abl. ; cf. *quis = quibus*.

Latini nominis, 'belonging to the Latins' : *Latīnum nomen* was the regular phrase for all who came under the title of *Latini*, so *nomen Romanum*, *nomen Punicum* : cf. such phrases as *φίλτατος ὄνομα Πολυνείκους* (= *φίλτατος Πολυνείκης*), Eur. *Phoen.* 1702 : and see note on *nomini Scipionum*, c. 41. 22.

§ 4. **ut** : the *ut*-clause is explanatory of *id* : 'Fulvius, however, said that the very thing they should be specially on their guard against was . . .' for this use cf. Cic. *Lael.* § 81 *hoc apparet in vestis . . . ut se ipsam diligant* ; Kennedy, *Publ. Sch. Lat. Gr.* § 195.

dicere : historic infinitive.

subicerentur, 'placed at the mercy of informers' ; cf. *cruciatum securi subiciam*, c. 13. 15.

quis = quibus : cf. *aliquis* in § 3 : 'a class of men, who never had given the least thought either to what they said or what they did' : *faisset* is consecutive subj. On the phrase *quicquam pensi* ('anything of consideration') see the excellent note of Roby, § 1301.

quaestionem, 'inquiry'—a term with legal associations ; *nam quaestionem = quaestio de ea re* [i.e. *nam Campani communicassent consilia*, &c.], § 3.

§ 5. **ab**, 'after this conversation' ; for the use of *ab* cf. *Caesar ab decima legionis cohortatione ad dextrum cornu profectus*, Caes. *B. G.* ii. 25.

expectaturum : the construction of *non dubitare* with the acc. and inf. is very rare before Livy. There is only one certain example in Cicero (*de Fin.* iii. 11. 38). In Livy it is quite common ; cf. c. 27. 5.

super, 'in a matter of such moment' : Cicero would have used *de* here ; cf. c. 21. 16 n.

§ 6. **id ipsum** : the very fact of having to await instructions.

praetorium : cf. *ita praetorium misit*, xx1. 54. 3 : *praetorium* = lit. 'the general's quarters,' then (as here) the council of war (*consilium* which met there).

socium = *sociorum*.

bucinam = *vigiliam* (lit. 'bugle' for sounding the changes of the watch) : the night was divided into four watches of equal length.

praesto : c. 9. 9 ; 'should await orders.'

§ 7. **Teanum** : c. 13. 9.

perrexit, 'made straight for' : cf. *pergere ire*, c. 7. 3 n.

magistratum : the *medix tuticus*.

Sidicinum : the full name of the town was *Teanum Sidicinum*, where *Sid.* is a gen. plur. The magistrate is here called *Sidicinum*, as *Teanum* was the chief town of the *Sidicini*, and had jurisdiction over the whole district.

§ 8. **caesi** : so *virgis mulcati*, c. 12. 19. These Campanian senators were Roman citizens but the *Lex Porcia* allowing an appeal from the *imperium militiae* was not passed till 195 B.C. (see Willems, *Le droit publ. rom.* p. 82). *Fulvius* exercised capital jurisdiction over them in virtue of his *imperium proconsulare*.

Cales : it is not clear why he went to *Teanum* first, which was farther off.

palum : c. 13. 15.

§ 9. **ab**, 'beginning at the judgment seat.'

differri : depending on verb implied in *murmur*.

integram, 'without prejudice' ; cf. 37. 9 n.

neque res, 'without opening them' : cf. *Flaminius'* treatment of the despatch summoning him from the Gallic War, ταῦτα δεξάμενος τὰ γράμματα Φλαμίνιος οὐ πρότερον ἔλυσεν ἢ μάχην συνάψας τρέψασθαι τοὺς Βαρβάρους, *Plut. Marc.* 4. 4.

reposuisset, 'had put them duly in his lap' : *re* in *reponere* does not mean 'back,' but 'in the proper place,' so *reddere pecuniam* = (often) 'to pay money that is due' : *reddere litteras*, 'to deliver a letter,' c. 26. 4.

lege agere, 'to carry out the sentence of the law.'

§ 10. **serum**, 'too late to prevent what had been already done' ; *consullum* (as well as *litterae*) is to be referred to *lectae*.

§ 11. **Taurea**. He is called *insignis bello vir* in xxiii. 8. 5 : *longe omnium Campanorum fortissimus equus* in xxiii. 46. 12 : he had once served in the Roman army. His full name was *Cerrinus Vibellius Taurea*.

mirabundus = *mirans* : so *moribundus* = *moriens* (§ 15, : cf. c. 13. 16 n.

quidnam, 'what he could possibly want with him' : for the construction cf. *numquid me vis*, *Ter. Phorm.* 151. *Roby*, § 1094.

§ 13. **profecto**, 'surely he was not quite sane,' for *satis* cf. c. 12. 17.

compotem mentis : so *compos animi*, *compos sui* : both *Cicero* and *Livy* sometimes use *compos* with the abl., e.g. *Cic. de Or.* i. 210 *compos animo et scientia*.

modo, 'and then,' as if *modo* had preceded.

§ 14. **indigni** : partitive gen., 'any insult.'

uindicta, 'release from my hateful existence'. *uindicta* is a legal term denoting a form of manumission of slaves : for the thought cf. *hæc uno quo possum modo, filia, in libertatem uindico* (iii. 48. 5).

§ 15. **aduersum**. 'full in the breast' : so *in aduersum* sc. *Caes.* *B. G.* v. 35.

CHAPTER XVI

§ 1. **quod**, 'the circumstances of the punishment.'

sub, 'immediately after,' as in *sub hac dicta*, § 3. and often; for the fact see c. 33. 4.

§ 2. **hunc**: the construction of *quidam trahunt* is carried on.

quiritaret, 'screamed out': often connected with *quiritis*, and, according to Varro, used of one who *Quiritum fidem clamans implorat* (L. L. 6. 68: but Vaníček (*Etym. Wörterb.* s. v. KVAS), connects it with *querer* and Lucilius vi. 17 Müll.) uses it without any legal implication.

parum, 'could not be heard distinctly.'

§ 3. **ad**, 'as regards': cf. *timidus ad mortem*, Cic. *de Fin.* ii. 20. 63.

adde = *da*, 'lay on': for this use of *addere* = *dare* cf. Virg. *G.* iv. 149 *naturas apibus quas Iuppiter ipse addidit*, 'gave to the bees': Hor. *Ep.* ii. 1. 217 *addere calcar*.

§ 4. **securi**: abl., always in *-i*: Roby, § 431.

sed quia, 'but finding in the decree of the senate that he was to refer the matter without prejudice to the senate, if he thought good, he chose to understand it as meaning that it had been left to him to decide what course he considered most advantageous to the state.' The phrase *si tibi uidebitur* in the *senatus consultum* was of course a mere formula, not to be taken in its literal sense: for the redundancy (characteristic of Livy's style) *duceret, aestimationem* cf. c. 6. 2; 16. 13, &c.

§ 5. **capita**, 'heads of the state'; cf. c. 40. 13.

§ 6. **principes**, 'leading men,' not in the usual official sense that *principes senatus* had at Rome: the compound phrase *ad septuaginta principes* is subject to *interfecti*; cf. c. 40. 14.

alii, 'others,' as if *alii* had preceded: cf. the fate proposed by Caesar for the Catilinarian conspirators *censui . . . ipsos in uinculis habendos per municipia* (Sall. *Cat.* 51 fin.; so of the Hernici *per Latinos populos custodiendi dantur*, ix. 42. 9).

multitudo alia, 'the common people besides': *alia* distinguishes them from the *capita rerum*: this is an imitation of the Greek use of ἄλλος, e. g. εὐδαιμονιζόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν πολιτῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ξένων (Plat. *Georg.* 473 D); so c. 40. 12.

uenum dare = *uerpēre*: so *uenum eo* is contracted to *uerpe*, the pass. of *uendo*.

§ 7. **quibusdam**. Livy does not say when or where the *consulto*'s took place; but from the words *consultibus* and *placuit* (§ 9), regular phrases for senatorial procedure, and from c. 17. 1 we may conclude that it was in the Senate. If so, this account is in contradiction with that in cc. 33 and 34, where (see esp. c. 33. 4) the whole settlement is referred to Fulvius against whom the Campani appeal to the Senate. Livy has then

combined the accounts of two separate authorities, the latter of whom gave fuller details of the settlement.

praenualidam : emphatic by position, 'as too strong.'

fertilitate, 'every product of the soil,' abstract for concrete.

aliqua : see note on *aliquos*, c. 2. 13.

§ 8. **frequentandae**, 'for peopling the city,' 'dative of work contemplated,' Roby, § 1156. These people would not rank as *cives*.

multitudo : subdivided into two divisions (connected by *et*, the first containing two kinds of *liberi*, the second two kinds of *serui* : for the latter cf. c. 47. 2.

ager, 'all the land and the buildings were confiscated by the Roman people' : *publica* is predicate (ἰδημεύθη).

§ 9. **tantum**, 'merely,' qualifying *habitari*.

corpus, 'body-politic,' τὸ κοινόν, of which the senate would be the *caput*.

§ 10. **consilio**, 'without a public deliberative body,' i.e. *senatus*. *Consilium* was the name given in Roman law to the body of responsible advisers who assisted a magistrate in the discharge of his duties (v. Greenidge, *Roman Publ. Life*, p. 58). The Senate was originally the king's *consilium* chosen from among the heads of families.

imperio = *magistratibus*.

sociam, 'with no mutual interests.' Capua thus became a *ciuitas dediticia* (v. Greenidge, *Rom. Publ. Life*, p. 306).

praefectum : sc. *iuri dicundo* ; a delegate of the praetor : a town subject to such a delegate was called a *praefectura* (Greenidge, *op. cit.* p. 302).

missuros : sc. *se*.

§ 11. **ad Capuam** qualifies *res* like an adj. : cf. *uno die* in c. 48. 2 with note there.

ab omni parte, 'from every point of view.'

in spem. This use of *in* to denote the 'effect intended' is post-Ciceronian, Roby, § 1974.

ruinis, 'demolitions' ; v. c. 41. 12 n.

§ 12. **cum**, 'besides the advantage of this course' : cf. *praesens utilitas*, § 6.

species, 'glory' ; cf. xxxiv. 52. 12 *praebuerunt speciem triumpho*.

§ 13. **quam nihil** : cf. *quam haud multum*, c. 6. 7 : for the redundancy in *auxili* . . . *tuendos* cf. c. 6. 2 n.

fidem, 'protection,' so frequently, e.g. *Caes. B. G. ii. 3*.

CHAPTER XVII

§ 1. **quod** : an adverbial phrase : 'performing their duty, so far as concerned Capua' : contrast the clause *quod* . . . *Campanorum* in c. 16. 1.

legisset : for *legerit* of the *Oratio Recta*.

socium = *sociorum*, c. 15. 6.

§ 2. **Hispaniam** : cf. c. 2. 5.

subductis, 'beached'; the opposite of *subducere* is *deducere*, 'launch'; cf. Gk. ἀνέλκειν and καθέλκειν.

socios naualis, 'the sailors,' so called because they were furnished originally by the allies: slaves and poor citizens were afterwards employed (Mommsen, *R. H.* ii. 174).

§ 3. **Fonteius**; the legatus of P. Scipio (xxv. 37. 4).

Marcus : c. 2. 1.

§ 4. **Hamilcaris**. 'son of Hamilcar': for the omission of *filii* cf. c. 20. 6 (*H. Gisgonis*: but immediately after *H. Hamilcaris filius*): it is an imitation of the Greek Ἀσδρούβας ὁ τοῦ Ἀμίλχαρος.

Lapides Atros: the place is quite unknown, and Livy's next sentence makes confusion worse confounded: the *Ausetani* were to the N. of Tarraco: Iliturgis and Mentissa were to the S. of the *Castuloensis saltus*. Weissenborn-Müller propose *Oretanis*, but even with this reading the situation of the two towns is given with only approximate correctness. Nor has Livy considered it at all necessary to tell his readers how Nero got from Tarraco to the Oretani nor why, if *Ausetani* be correct, he went to them *via* the Ebro.

saltus, 'defile.'

§ 5. **caduceatorem**. 'a flag of truce,' lit. 'one bearing a caduceus' or herald's staff.

foret. Cicero never employs *fore* for *esse* in the compound tenses: Caesar never employs it at all: see Madv. § 377. 2. and for a very full discussion Riemann, *Études*, pp. 226-233.

§ 6. **Romanus** here = *Romanus dux*, not *Romani* as in c. 5. 14, &c.

coram: adverbial: *conscriberentur*, cf. c. 12. 11 n.

urbium: i.e. the cities occupied by the Carthaginians throughout Spain. This is absolutely incredible. Livy must either be copying some lying source like Valerius or transferring to Nero some story about Scipio towards the end of his campaign.

ad quam, 'by which.'

sine fraude, 'unharmed'; cf. 12. 5.

§ 7. **inde**, 'thereafter'; i.e. *inde a primis tenebris*.

quod grauissimum. 'ordered the heaviest part of the army to make its way out of the defile as best it could.' *quacunq̄ue*, sc. *via*.

§ 8. **sedulo**. 'deliberately'; *sedulus* is perhaps derived from *se-dolo*, 'without craft,' hence 'serious,' 'careful,' Roby, § 990. Lindsay, *Hist. Lat. Gr.* p. 119.

cum . . . tum = *et . . . et*: *aptior* is put between the two instead of before the first: *aptior et ad . . . et ad . . .*

§ 9. **loquendo**, 'but the day being spent in deliberately prolonging

discussion, and drawing up irrelevant clauses, an adjournment to the next day took place,' *loquendo* and *scribendo* are ablatives of manner, going with *die consumpto*.

§ 10. *et*, 'also,' καὶ ἄλλους.

nec = *ne* . . . *quidem*, 'nor on the next day either'; cf. *Maharbal* . . . *missus nec ipse eruptionem cohortium sustinuit* xxiii. 18. 4, *Madvig*, § 457 obs.

res, 'the discussion.'

§ 11. *disceptando* . . . *emittendis*: v. *loquendo*, § 9.

legibus, 'terms of surrender.'

stabatur, 'they no longer wished to abide even by the terms which they had themselves (*ultro*) offered.' For the imperf. cf. n. on *transferebat*, 3. 1, and *conueniebat* below.

minus, 'and there was less and less chance of an agreement, their good faith decreasing as their fear vanished.'

§ 12. *religiosum*, 'unlucky'; cf. *in religionem ea res . . . uersa est*, c. 11. 4. *rei seriae*: partitive gen.

§ 13. *uenia*, 'they were excused for that day.'

§ 14. *dispulsa*, 'the scattering of the mist'; cf. c. 2. 14 n.

§ 15. *fraudem*: the Romans, who were a poor match for either Greeks or Carthaginians at strategy, revenged themselves by calling it perfidy: cf. *Livy's* description of Hannibal in xxi. 4. 9 *perfidia plus quam Punica*.

CHAPTER XVIII

§ 1. *cladem*: the defeat and death of the two Scipios in 212, related in xxv. 36. 1 sqq.

§ 2. *maior quam*, 'were as much alarmed for Spain as for Italy.'

§ 3. *nec tam*, 'they were not quite so sure whom they should send, as they were that when' . . . : for *illud* referring to what follows (here *cum deligendum esse*) cf. c. 13. 9 n.

succederet: final subj.

§ 4. *decursum*, 'recourse was finally had to the expedient of holding an election': lit. 'they ended their course at the point that . . .': for this use of *decurrere* cf. the use of καταβαίνειν in Gk., *Hdt.* i. 90 λέγων δὲ ταῦτα, κατέβαινε αὐτὶς παραιτούμενος, 'he ended by . . .,' so i. 118, ix. 94: we see this meaning half developed in such phrases as καταβαίνειν ἐπὶ τελευτῇ. *Plat. Rep.* 511 B: so *decurritur ad illud extremum* . . . s. c., *Caes. B. C.* i. 5. 3: for other examples see xxii. 31. 10; xxxi. 20. 5; *Hor. C.* iii. 29. 59.

comitia: it was not usual to hold an election to appoint a *proconsul*: the senate prolonged the term of office when a consul's year of office was over, if a proconsul were required; cf. c. 1. 2.

in, 'for Spain,' c. 16. 11 n.; cf. c. 28. 12.

§ 5. **profiterentur** : intending candidates gave in their names to the presiding magistrate who, if they were suitable, drew up and published the list of candidates : the subject to *expectauerant* is indefinite, 'people.'

§ 6. **campum** : the Campus Martius : the Comitia Centuriata always met outside the *pomerium*.

descendit : the *nox propria* for going from home to the forum, or for appearing in the forum or Campus Martius on business—a relic of the time when all the houses were on the hills round the forum.

magistratus : they were sitting on the *tribunal* at one end of the space marked off for the Comitia.

§ 7. **professus** : apparently on the spur of the moment. Livy's account is not probable. Scipio's appointment had probably been determined on beforehand by the senate (Mommson, *R. H.* ii. 325). Polybius (x. 5. 2. sqq.) gives a very similar account of Scipio's election to the aedileship.

superiore : *candidatis usus fuit . . . in colle consistere unde eorum possent ab universis uideri*, Macrobius, i. 16. 35.

§ 8. **clamore ac fauore** : hendiadys, 'shouts of approval.'

ominati, 'prophesied a fortunate and successful career,' i.e. by calling out *felix fortunae sit* they gave a good omen of success.

§ 9. **inire** : see c. 2. 9 n.

centuriae : the votes at an election were taken by centuries, the vote of each century counting as one : this vote was determined by a majority of the members (*homines*) of the century.

iusserunt : the regular word for a decision of the people assembled in comitia : cf. *plebes sic iussit*, c. 33. 14.

§ 11. **paenitebat**. 'they began to feel misgivings on the score of his age'; according to Livy (§ 7 he was only 24 : Polybius x. 6. 10) makes him 27. Livy (or rather the source he is following) is purposely correcting Polybius, who says in another passage (x. 2. 4) that he was seventeen when he rescued his father at the Trebia (218 B.C.) : this would mean that he was 24 in 211 B.C.

nomen : to bear the name of an unlucky person, or a name indicative of ill luck was, according to ancient notions, to court disaster. See the notes to c. 15. 3 ; 41. 22.

prouincias : see n. on c. 37. 8.

[**funestis** : strictly the *domus* and *familia* were only *funesta* until the deceased member had received due funeral rites and the house and family had been at the same time purified by proper ceremonies, Preller, *Röm. Myth.* 479. T.W.D.]

CHAPTER XIX

§ 1. **ab . . . acta**, 'after such a precipitate decision': the phrase forms, with *quam*, an adjectival supplement to *solicitudinem curamque*.

ita, 'in such a way,' explained by *magno elatoque animo*.

§ 2. **impleret . . . solet**, 'inspired them with more hope and confidence than usually springs either from trust in a man's promises or from reasoning upon reliable data.' The genitive (*spei* is more usual in Livy than the abl. after *impleo* Roby, § 1335); *quam quantam* = *quam ea est quam*, 'than is that which,' the second *quam* being changed to *quantam* for euphony after *ea est* has been omitted: cf. *quam quanta belli fama fuerat*, i. 35. 7; *fiducia rerum* is abstract for concrete: cf. Tac. *Agg.* 10 *rerum fide tradentur*.

§ 3. **Scipio**. It is worth while to compare the description of Scipio's character given by Polybius, who believes his apparent piety to have been altogether a pretence to impose upon the vulgar: he says Πόπλιος . . . ἐνεργαζόμενος αἰεὶ δόξαν τοῖς πολλοῖς ὡς μετὰ τῆς θείας ἐπιπνοίας ποιούμενος τὰς ἐπιβολάς, εὐθαρσεστέρους καὶ προθυμωτέρους κατέσκεύαζε τοὺς ὑποταττομένους πρὸς τὰ δεινὰ τῶν ἔργων (x. 2. 12). Livy with greater faith in human nature hesitates between imposture and enthusiasm.

arte, 'but from his earliest years assuming a pose calculated to display them': for *compositus* compare *compositus ad maestitiam*, Tac. *A.* xiii. 20.

§ 4. **pleraque**. There is considerable doubt as to the reading here: with the reading as in the text it seems best to take *visa* and *monita* as agreeing with *pleraque* and *mente* as a kind of abl. of place, 'generally, in addressing the people, laying claim to insight received in visions of the night or pretending to a supernatural inner (*mente*) warning.' Omitting *ut* and reading *uisas*, we must take *mente monita* as an abl. abs., and translate, 'generally addressing the people after his thoughts had been stirred by visions of the night or by a pretended (*velut*) divine inspiration.'

capti . . animi: gen. of description after *ipse*, which is in apposition to *Scipio*. *capti*, 'affected,' is contemptuous; cf. xxxvii. 13. 12 *uiros velut mente capta cum iactatione fanatica corporis uaticinari*; iv. 30. 9 *quibus quaestui sunt capti superstitione animi*.

ut imperia: see the extract from Polybius, quoted § 3 above.

sorte, 'the decision of an oracle': for this sense of *sors* (lit. = 'lot'; cf. i. 56. 6 *responsa sortium* (of the oracle at Delphi)).

§ 5. **ab initio**: explained by *ex quo . . . sumpsit*: the sentence beginning *nullo die* refers to the time after his election.

animos: sc. *hominum*, to be supplied from the unexpressed subject of *exsequerentur*.

toga: the age for assuming the *toga virilis* varied, but it was very

unusual to delay the ceremony after the seventeenth birthday; v. Ramsay, *Rom. Ant.* pp. 422 sq.

aedem : sc. *Iouis Capitolini*.

solus : cf. Appian, *Iber.* 23 ἐς τὸ Καπιτώλιον ἐσῆι μόνος καὶ τὰς θείρας ἐπέκλειεν ὥσπερ τι παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ μανθάνων.

§ 6. **seu . . . esse**, 'ensured credence in a certain class of mind for the story, whether purposely circulated (i. e. by Scipio) or idly rumoured, that he was a hero of divine parentage': *opinionī* is dative after *fidem fecit*=*fecit ut crederent*.

§ 7. **rettulit**, 'recalled the legend, equally silly and equally romantic, once spread abroad in the case of Alexander'; for *fabula* in the sense of a 'romance' cf. Cic. *Lael.* § 70 *ut in fabulis, qui . . . aut deorum aut regum filii inuenti, retinent tamen caritatem in pastores*.

matris : her name, according to Silius Italicus (xiii. 615) was Pomponia.

speciem, 'the presence of this monster had often been noticed.'

hominum, 'when any of the household entered the room.'

ex oculis, 'from before their eyes'; cf. *in oculis*, c. 12. 12; 35. 7.

§ 8. **his miraculis**, 'he never himself mocked any one's belief in these marvels, but rather their credulity was strengthened by a fashion he had of neither denying nor openly endorsing any story of the kind'; *miraculis* is dative after *fides*, as *opinionī* in § 6.

§ 9. **admirationis**, 'had in his case, young as he was, overstepped the bounds of the respect due to a mortal.' *humanae* takes the place of an objective gen. *hominis* : *iunem* is in apposition to *eo*, and is to be taken in a concessive sense=καίπερ νεανία ὄντι.

aetati : abstract for concrete, 'a person of unripe years.'

§ 10. **uetere** : the army of the Scipios.

militum=*peditum*; cf. xxii. 37. 7 *milite atque equite . . . uti*.

adiutor : cf. xxxiii. 43. 5 *P. Manlius in Hispaniam citeriorem adiutor consuli datus*.

§ 11. **quinqueremes** : with five banks of oars. This was the usual style of ship employed by the Romans in war; cf. c. 24. 10; 39. 4. They were invented by Dionysius of Syracuse in his Punic Wars as an improvement on the older trireme (Diod. Sic. xiv. 42).

ostiis for *ab ostiis*; cf. *portis ruere*, xxvii. 41. 8.

et ipsi : there is nothing in the text for this to refer to: the words must have contrasted the people of Emporiae with some other people. As we see from § 13 that ships from Massilia came with Silanus, it is likely that a reference to Massilia, which was a Phocaean colony, has either dropped out of the text, or been omitted by Livy in copying his original. There is a very similar use of *is ipse* in c. 42. 8.

urbe : it is not usual in Ciceronian Latin to put an abl. in apposition

to a locative (as here) without a preposition; the use is fairly common in Livy.

oriundi : see note on c. 13. 16.

§ 12. **conuentus**, 'a meeting,' not in the technical sense of the 'assize districts' into which a Roman province was divided.

§ 13. **subduci** : c. 17. 2 n.

officii causa, 'as a mark of respect.'

ab : cf. *a Capua*, c. 7. 2 n.

§ 14. **suspensis**, 'perplexed by so many changes of fortune.'

ab, 'as the result of,' cf. *ab ira*, c. 1. 3 : he was too confident of his position to use threatening language and so 'all that he said revealed dignity and inspired confidence'; for this sense of *fide* cf. c. 24. 7 n. : for the coupling together of a subjective (*maiestas*) and objective (*fides*) idea cf. *superbum atque indignum*, c. 11. 7 ; *minore cum verecundia et maiore cum fide*, c. 24. 7.

CHAPTER XX

§ 1. **duabus** : within thirty days of each other.

deinceps : used here as an adj. For other examples of this use of adverbial phrases as adjectives in Livy cf. § 8 *omnis ad arcem a mari aditus*, c. 21. 14 *profectionem ex Sicilia* Marcelli, c. 41. 9 *paene orbitas*. The usage is quite common in Greek, and Livy is perhaps imitating the Greek construction.

§ 2. **nec . . . arcuissent** = *et non passi . . . arcuissent* : for this use of *nec* cf. c. 9. 12.

fructum, 'enjoy the sweets of victory.'

cis, 'on this side of,' i. e. from the Roman standpoint.

§ 3. **Marcium** : c. 17. 3.

uereri : sc. *Scipionem* : for the expression cf. c. 11. 2 *nullius rei minore quam hostium metu*.

§ 4. **successit**. There is almost certainly some mistake here. Nero was sent out in 211 in the autumn after the capture of Capua (c. 17. 1). He meets with indifferent success and finally the senate decides to ask the people to appoint a proconsul (c. 18. 4). Scipio is appointed and goes out during the same year with Silanus as his assistant with the rank of proprætor; and then we are suddenly told that 'thereupon Silanus succeeded to Nero.' If Livy's account is correct, it was Scipio who succeeded to Nero. But there is a good deal to be said for the view that Silanus came in between Nero and Scipio in the year 210, Scipio not going out till 209, which is Polybius' date for his arrival. See the Introduction.

adeunda . . . peractisque : for the order cf. c. 13. 18 *antros, arvis a uiderdis audiendisque*.

§ 5. **diuinatio**, 'a kind of presentiment of the future, which inspired

all the greater fear the less a reason could be assigned for the terror that had so unaccountably arisen': *quo* refers to an *eo* understood before *maiores*, *temere* is tautological.

§ 6. **dinersi**, 'in different directions.'

Gisgonis: sc. *filius*; cf. 17. 4 n.

usque ad, 'right on to the Atlantic'; cf. c. 10. 3.

maxime, 'somewhere beyond'; cf. the use of *maxime* with numbers = 'about,' and see c. 42. 7 n.

Castulonensem saltum: the Eastern range of the Sierra Morena.

proximus, 'nearest' of the three: Saguntum is 100 miles S. of the Ebro.

circa, 'in the neighbourhood of.'

§ 7. **extremo**: for the Ciceronian *astute extrema*; so *relicam belli*: cf. Madv. § 284, obs. 5.

§ 8. **quidem . . . sed** = Gk. *μὲν . . . δέ*.

ad arcem: v. note on *deinceps*, § 1.

adsidendo, 'by too prolonged a stay succeeded in stinting the corn of their allies instead of that of the enemy': *actiorem sociis quam hosti faciebat* = *arctum sociis potius quam hosti f.*: for this 'pregnant' use of the comparative cf. c. 4. 1, and ix. 12. 8 *tutiorque his audacia fuit quam incedens ad credendum ceteris parum quies . . . Samnites concupiscunt*, 'their courage was their salvation, unlike the timidity of the others . . .'

§ 9. **pacata . . . apertos**: concessive; 'secure and open though they were under the protection of the Carthaginian fleet.'

frumenti: to be translated with *tantum*: for this postponement of a partitive gen. to the relative clause cf. Caes. B. G. ii. 8 *caelis . . . tantum adversus in latitudinem patebat, quantum tibiacies instructa occupare poterat*.

turba: abl. of instrument, 'used on (lit. with) its crowd of sailors': *turba* seems to be slightly contemptuous: for *multa* cf. *multa et omni confluence*, c. 40. 17.

§ 10. **innecto . . . praeparato**: sc. *frumento*, 'imported . . . in stock.'

§ 11. **gratia**, 'with more thankfulness than had been felt on its arrival.'

quam uenerat = *quam qua uenerat*.

laxauerat: intrans., 'corn had not got any easier,' i. e. cheaper or more plentiful.

non poterat: because the Romans again got command of the sea.

CHAPTER XXI

§ 1. **Marcellus**—fresh from the capture of Syracuse.

ad: for *ad* with the acc. in place of *in* with the abl. cf. *ad locum*, xxvii. 27. 2.

aedem Bellonae: in the Campus Martius near the Circus Flaminius,

It lay accordingly outside the *pomerium*. The senate assembled here when a general wished to have an audience of the Senate without forfeiting his *imperium militare*, as he would have done if he came inside the limits of the city. Generals who desired a triumph had to get special leave of the senate to retain their full *imperium* while proceeding through the city to the Capitol in triumph. The place in the temple where the senate met was called the *Senaculum* (v. Homo, *Lexique de Topogr. Rom. s. v.*).

§ 2. **uicem**, 'as much on his soldiers' account as on his own': *uicem* is an acc. used adverbially, 'on account of,' like *χάριν* in Greek; cf. *sed neque tum mitrae neque tum fluitantis amictus | illa uicem curans*, Catull. lxiv. 69; *solicitis uicem imperatoris militibus* xxviii. 19. 17. Adv. § 237 c. obs. 3.

[*uicem* I take to be an extension of the cognate acc. with *questus*: *queri questum* would = 'to utter a complaint,' *queri questum militum uicem*, 'to utter a complaint, the substitute of the soldiers' complaint': cf. Plant. *Rud.* 814 *respondetote istinc istarum uicem*, lit. 'give from where you are an answer the substitute of those girls' answer.' T.W.D.]

prouincia: often used, as here, in its original meaning of 'special duty'; hence it comes to mean the sphere in which the duty is exercised; cf. 22. 1; 28. 3.

exercitum: the presence of the victorious army was nearly always one of the conditions of obtaining a triumph: cf. xxxix. 29. 5 *ita comparatum more maiorum erat, ne quis, qui exercitum non deportasset, triumpharet, nisi perdomitam paratamque prouinciam tradidisset successori*.

non impetrauit: the reason follows in § 4.

§ 3. **actum esset**, 'had been discussed,' c. 2. 6.

utrum: the construction is: *utrum minus conueniret ei negari triumphum, cuius . . . honos, an eum . . . triumphare, quem . . . decerneretur*.

supplicatio, 'public thanksgiving,' decreed by the senate on the receipt of news of a victory; it was generally, though not always, a guarantee of a triumph later on (Cic. *ad Fam.* xv. 5. 2).

honos, 'sacrifice was offered'; cf. xxviii. 9. 7; Virg. *Aen.* iii. 118 *meritos aris mactauit honores*: this use of the word is mostly poetical.

§ 4. **debellato**: abl. absol. without a noun in agreement, 'as if the war had been ended successfully'; cf. Roby, §§ 1253, 1254, where this word should be added to the list.

meriti atque immeriti, 'to witness whether he did, or did not, deserve a triumph': for *atque* see c. 44. 8 n.

medium: cf. *mediū sententia*, c. 8. 6, 'the middle course.'

ouans: in an *ouatio* the general entered the city on foot (or on horseback) not in a chariot, unaccompanied by his army, wearing a wreath not of bay, like the *triumphator*, but of myrtle, and offered a sheep (whence the name *ouatio* to Jupiter on the Capitol Plut. *Marc.* 22, Aul. Gell. v. 6).

§ 5. **tribuni**. Marcellus being only a proconsul possessed merely the

imperium militiæ and no *imperium* within the walls. 'It was impossible for the senate to recognize the display of a power which did not exist. In this case a special dispensation from the laws was necessary, which could originally be granted only by the people. The Senate took the initiative by asking the tribunes to introduce a *plebiscitum* sanctioning the arrangement.' Greenidge, *Rom. Publ. Life*, p. 158.

§ 6. **iniret**: the subj. denotes purpose.

Albano: at the temple of Jupiter Latiaris: as Marcellus had no army with him, the 'triumph' cannot have been very imposing. The Senate had no power to prevent a general from triumphing except in Rome.

inde, 'afterwards'; cf. 38. 4.

præ se, 'he made a great display of booty on his entry': for *præ se ferre* cf. Cic. *de Off.* ii. 22. 79 *et neminit et præ se fert dolorem*, 'makes parade of pain.'

§ 7. **simulacro**. Perhaps a symbolical figure representing Syracuse or a plan of the town; for the latter cf. xli. 28. 10 *Sardiniae insulae forma erat, atque in ea simulacra pupparum picta*: Tac. *Ann.* ii. 41 *simulacra montium, gluminum, procliorum*: Joseph. *Bell. Jud.* vii. 5 [cf. Ovid, *ex Ponto* ii. 1. 37-8 *protinus argenti, ursos imitantia mares* | *barbara cum pictis oppida late uiris*: also iii. 4. 105. T.W.D.]

catapultæ, ballistæ: see notes on c. 47. 5.

regiæ: belonging to the kings, or tyrants, of Syracuse since Dionysius.

§ 8. **fabrefacti** qualifies both *aeris* and *argenti*, 'vessels of silver and bronze.'

alia, 'besides'; cf. *alia multitudo*, c. 16. 6.

uestis: for the plundering of *pretiosa uestis* in the provinces cf. Cic. *Verr.* ii. 4, § 58 sq. *nulla domus in Sicilia locuples fuit, ubi iste non textrinum instituerit*, &c. In the best prose the meaning of 'clothes,' 'stuffs for clothing,' is always expressed by the singular of *vestis*.

signa, 'statues': for the numbers of these at Syracuse even later see Cic. *Verr.* ii. 4, §§ 126-131 *sic habetote, plaris esse a Syracusanis istius aduentu deos quam uictoria Marcelli homines desideratos*.

§ 9. **Punicae**, 'over the Carthaginians'; cf. note on *humante*, c. 19. 9.

Sosis; there is a Sosis mentioned in xxv. 25. 3 *unus ex interfectores tyranni* i. e. *Hieronymi*, who was sent by Marcellus to interview the governor of Euryalus. But neither he nor his service is mentioned in connexion with the actual capture of the town.

Moericus: the story of his treachery is told in xxv. 30. 2 sqq.

§ 10. **quorum**, 'one of whom' i. e. Sosis, 'had served as guide by night when Syracuse had been entered': this use of the adj. *nocturnus* (an adverbial *nocte*) is almost confined to poetry, cf. *nocturnus adulter*, Juv. viii. 144; Livy may be imitating here the Gk. use of *σκοταῖος*: *introitam, erat* is the impersonal passive.

Nasum: i. e. *τὴν Νῆσον*, the island of Ortygia.

§ 11. **iugera** : a plot 240 feet long by 120 broad—about five-eighths of an acre : it was originally a measure of labour—the amount of land that could be ploughed in a day. (Mommsen, *R. H.* i. 265 n.)

qui... fuisset : consecutive clause : 'that part of the Syracusan territory which had belonged either to the king or the enemies of the Romans.' After the conquest it became *ager publicus*.

aedes... eorum = *aedes eius, cuius aedem aellet eorum*, lit. 'a house at Syracuse, belonging to any one whose house he had a fancy for among those who...'

§ 12. **ex iis** = *alicuius populi ex iis*, 'belonging to some people among those who...'

§ 13. **id** : anticipating the explanatory clause, *ut... adsignaret*.

eodem : sc. as Moerius and the Spaniards.

Belligeni : Belligenes is not mentioned before. Livy must be using here a different source to that followed in the earlier narrative.

§ 14. **ex Sicilia** : v. n. on *deinceps*, c. 20. 1.

classis : the fleet mentioned in c. 20. 7.

§ 15. **Muttine** : cf. xxv. 40. 5 sqq. It is hardly likely, as Weissenborn-Müller suppose, that these are different persons : for his subsequent history see c. 40. 3 sqq.

§ 16. **super haec** : *πρὸς τούτοις*, 'in addition to this' : Cicero would have used *praeter*. For another (also non-Ciceronian) use of *super* see c. 15. 5.

partim... partim = *alii... alii* : for this use (not uncommon in Cicero) cf. Roby, §§ 1264, 1429 ; in the former of the two clauses the number is due to the attraction of the leading noun *exercitus*.

quod... esset : virtual Oratio Obliqua : these soldiers are Marcellus' army : those in the next clause *quod... erant* are the disgraced soldiers of Fulvius (c. 1. 9-10). In the clause *quod... erant* the use of the indie. implies that Livy is here giving the real, not the alleged, reason.

segni : for *segniter* ; 'were remiss in performing their duties.'

§ 17. **animos**, 'mutinous feelings.'

consolando... castigando : ablatives of instrument. by 'soothing them and rebuking them in turns,' as in c. 35. 8.

iis : sc. *civitatibus*.

Hispanis : § 12.

CHAPTER XXII

§ 1. **prouinciam** : cf. c. 21. 2 n.

sortiri, 'to draw lots for' ; they would take up command as pro-consuls in these provinces when their year of office as consuls had expired.

Sulpicio : P. Sulpicius Galba.

§ 2. **Fulvius**. Cn. Fulvius Centimalus, Sulpicius' colleague.

rogandis, 'elections for the purpose of voting for consuls,' dative of 'work contemplated,' Roby, § 1156: for *rogare* see c. 34. 12.

praerogatiua: sc. *centuria*. The votes were taken by centuries (cf. c. 18. 9): the century to vote first was determined by lot (*sortitio praerogatiuae*), among the seventy centuries of the first class, and was called *praerogatiua* ('first asked'): see Greenidge, op. cit. p. 253; Willems, *Le Droit Publ. Rom.* pp. 166 sqq. and Mayor's note to Cic. *Phil.* ii. § 82.

Voturia. At this period the *comitia centuriata* and the *comitia tributa* had been amalgamated. Each of the five classes of the *com. cent.* was (probably) divided into seventy centuries, thirty-five of *seniores* and thirty-five of *iuniores*, one of each being taken from each of the thirty-five tribes. In the text the *centuria Vol. iun.* is the *centuria iuniorum* of the *prima classis* taken from the *tribus Voluria*. For further details v. Willems, *Le Droit Publ. Rom.* pp. 93 sqq.

§ 3. **gratulandi**: the vote of the *praerogatiua* was generally regarded as a forecast of the result of the election, the will of the gods being declared by the *sortitio*; see § 13

consensus, 'agreement' with the vote of the *praerogatiua*.

§ 4. **audiret**: the historic present often takes secondary sequence.

§ 5. **esset**: subj. of indirect question depending on the verb of asking implied in *expectatione*.

excusauit, 'begged to be excused on account of the state of his eyes': he was probably *lippus*, a common complaint at Rome: see Hor. *S. i.* 7. 3 with Orelli's n. *Valtudo* is a neutral word in Latin and means good or bad health according to the context, v. the examples quoted in Lewis and Short, s.v. B 1, 2: for *excusare*, 'to allege in excuse,' cf. Cic. *Phil.* ix. 4 § 8 *quem cum uideretis re magis morbum quam oratione excusantem*.

§ 6. **impudentem**, 'it would be effrontery in either a pilot or a general . . . to expect': *esse* represents *est* of the direct; for this use of the present indic. cf. *piget*, c. 49. 1.

alienis, 'other people's eyes': *alienas* corresponds to *alias* as *meas* to *ego*.

postulet, 'expect': for this meaning of *postulare*, frequent in Comedy, cf. Cic. *de Leg.* 1. § 5 *postulatur a te iam diu uel flagitatur potius historia*: *Terr.* ii. 3, § 138 *o impudentiam singularem! hic postulat se Romae absolui*: *ib.* 4, § 44.

§ 7. **si uideretur**: c. 16. 4 n.

redire in suffragium: cf. xxiv. 8. 20 *praeco*, *Aniensium iuniorum in suffragium reuoca*, where the presiding magistrate Q. Fabius Maximus objects to the vote given for T. Otacilius by the *centuria praerogatiua*.

temperum, 'the critical position,' a common meaning of the plur.; cf. Cic. *Tusc. D.* 1, § 1.

§ 8. **quo**: abl. of accompanying circumstances.

inuaserint: sc. *hostes* from *hostili* which—*hostium*: some edd. read *arserint*, which is nearer to the *asserint* of the *cod.* *Putcanus*: transl. 'with

which almost the very walls of Rome had been set ablaze'; for the metaphor cf. Aesch. *Pers.* 395 σάλπιγξ δ' αὐτῇ πάντ' ἐκείν' ἐπέφλεγεν.

mutare, 'they were not going to change'; cf. n. on *ēici*, c. 7. 1.

§ 9. **mores**, 'your ways,' here in a bad sense almost = 'obstinacy.'

consul = *si consul creatus ero*.

§ 10. **auctoritate**, 'commanding tone.'

admirantium, 'approving cheers.'

seniorum: see note on § 2.

citaret: sc. *consul*.

§ 11. **ex auctoritate**, 'in accordance with their advice'; cf. the use of *auctor* in c. 4. 10.

secreto: adverbial, 'privately,' with *conloquendi*.

Ouili, 'the voting-booth.'

§ 12. **duobus**: in partitive apposition to *tribus*.

plenis, 'who had had their full share of offices.'

utique, 'if they *must* elect': *utique* like the Gk. *μάλιστα* = 'at all events.'

Laeuino: abl. as *duobus* above.

§ 13. **fulgentem**, 'illustrious for the conquest of Sicily' [cf. Hor. *Odes* iii. 16. 31 *fulgentem imperio fertilis Africae*: Tac. *Hist.* iv. 42 *sacerdotio fulgens*, T.W.D.]

absentis: Livy has said nothing of Marcellus leaving Rome after his *ovatio* in c. 21. 6 sq.

auctoritatem, 'the lead'; cf. the use of *auctoritas* in § 11.

§ 14. **eludant**: the subject is indefinite, 'let people mock the admirers of the good old times,' the *laudatores temporis acti*.

sapientium ciuitas, 'a kingdom of philosophers, which the wise dream of but have never known': the reference is to ideal commonwealths [*commenticiiae ciuitates* such as we have in Plato's *Republic*. *Sapiens* is the regular term in Cicero for φιλόσοφος: for the use of *magis quam*, almost a negative, cf. *μᾶλλον ἤ*.

principes, 'I should not think that either the rulers would prove themselves men of stronger character or with more control over their ambition for power, or the multitude display a better disposition': *fieri* like γίγνεσθαι often means not 'to become' but 'to turn out to be': the *principes* correspond (e. g.) to the φύλακες in Plato's *Republic*. *consecram*, subj. because the whole supposition is imaginary.

§ 15. **centuriam**: the construction is *parentum . . . uilis . . . auctoritas fecit ut uix ueri simile sit centuriam . . . consulere uoluisse*, &c.

mandaret: subj. of dependent question after *consulere*.

quoque, 'disrespect even for parents' as for so much else: for *quoque* = *etiam* cf. *in bello quoque, si res cogat, breuius esse*, v. 35 6; xxviii. 20. 7.

uilis, 'the fact that even parental authority is held cheap and made light of in our days': a more usual way of expressing this would be by a past part. (e. g. *elevata*) instead of an adj.

CHAPTER XXIII

§ 1. **Alimentus** : the famous annalist : he wrote in Greek, and seems to have used his materials with some critical ability. Livy tells us in xxi. 38. 3 that he was captured by Hannibal : this must have happened after this praetorship : see Teuffel, *Rom. Lit.* § 117.

§ 2. **incidit** for *accidit*, frequent in Livy.

mortuum : this, of course, would be taken by Livy as an additional proof of the wisdom of listening to the *auctoritas seniorum*.

§ 3. **Iudi Apollinares** : instituted in 212, in accordance with a prophecy, to secure victory in the war (xxv. 12. 3 sqq. : they were finally recognized as a fixed festival in 208 (xxvii. 23. 5), and celebrated from that time forward on July 5.

referente : *referre ut* is found only here.

§ 4. **prodigia** : always carefully chronicled by Livy, apparently from the entries in the *libri pontificales*. The amount of faith he had in them is hard to define.

Concordiae : there were two temples of Concord : one in the Forum at the foot of the Capitol, built by Camillus in 307 ; the other on the *arx*, completed in 216 (xxiii. 21. 7). It is not known which is meant here.

antefixis : upright ornaments of terra-cotta or marble usually representing palm-leaves or Gorgons' heads, sometimes images of the gods, *antefixa fictilia decorum Romanorum* xxxi. 4. 4. here apparently small figures of Victory, fastened underneath the edge of the roof to conceal the ends of the tiles (Collignon, *Manual of Gr. Architect.* p. 78 ; Rich. *Dict. of Ant.* s. v.).

§ 5. **Subertano** : from Subertum, in the south of Etruria.

pluuisse : the forms of this perfect in *-i* are frequent in Livy for the more usual *pluisse, pluit*, &c.

§ 6. **hostiis** : *hostiae maiores* were full-grown victims, as opposed to offerings of immature animals, *hostiae lactentes*.

procurata : c. 6. 14.

obsecratio, 'litany,' a solemn prayer to the gods to avert calamity.

[**nouemdiale sacrum**. This was a special observance on the occasion of a stone-shower : see Livy i. 31. 4 *ecceideri caelo lapides . . . ab eodem prodigio nouemdiale sacrum publice susceptum est . . . menset . . . sollemne et quinquagies idem prodigium nuntiaretur feriae per agrum dōs agerentur*. T.W.D.]

§ 7. **suffecti**, 'elected in their place' — the technical term for electing a magistrate to complete the term of office of another who had died before his year was up. In the case of a priest (who was chosen by the remaining members of the college), the term is usually *cooptatus*.

decemuii sacrorum. A body of ten (originally two) magistrates entrusted with the custody of the Sibylline books. They are often called *decemuii sacris faciundis*. Sulla increased the number to fifteen. Ramsay, *Rom. Ant.* p. 378.

§ 8. **pontufex**: (lit. 'bridge-maker'. The college of pontiffs consisted of nine originally five members. They were charged with the superintendence of public worship generally, religious jurisprudence, &c.: their *annales* formed one of the sources for Roman History: at their head was the *pontufex maximus*. Their original duties were those of 'conducting the building and demolition of the bridge over the Tiber,' the *pons sublicius*: v. Mommsen, *R. H.* i. 218 sq. and v. Ihering, *The Evolution of the Aryan* (E. T.), pp. 351 sqq.

exacto anno, 'at the end of this year': they waited then till the next year to elect a successor.

flamen Dialis, 'chief priest of Jupiter': a *flamen* was a priest charged with the cult of some particular deity: there were three *maiores fl.*, those of Jupiter, Mars and Quirinus, and twelve *minores*.

exta dare: the priest bore the sacrificial parts (*exta*), of the victim thrice round the altar and then uttering a sacred formula laid them solemnly upon it. This was called *exta dare* (*reddere*) *dis*. So Plutarch (*Marc.* 5. 4) tells us that Cornelius Cethegus was deposed ὅτι τὰ σπλάγχνα τοῦ ἱερείου παρὰ τὰξιν ἐπέδωκε.

perperam, 'faultily'; *perperam* is in origin the acc. fem. sing. of an adj. *perperus* and lit. means 'the wrong way' (sc. *uiam*). Lindsay, *Hist. Lat. Gr.* p. 122.

CHAPTER XXIV

For Livy's authorities for the events in Greece, see Introduction.

§ 1. **principum**, 'the leading men,' not to be taken as referring to the holding of any particular office. Freeman, *Federal Government*, pp. 262, 448.

ad id ipsum: i. e. for the purpose of meeting him.

concilium: τὸ κοινόν, ἡ κοινὴ σύνοδος, the Federal Congress.

§ 2. **captam**, 'the capture of': v. note on c. 2. 14. The partic. refers both to *Syracusas* and *Capuam*, but agrees with the nearer of the two.

in fidem, 'as a guarantee of . . .' For *in* cf. c. 16. 11 *in nullam spem* and note.

§ 3. **aequum ius**: explanatory of *civilitatem*, 'the enjoyment of equal rights as citizens': for this explanatory use of *atque* cf. c. 40. 9.

in ea fortuna haberent, 'treated so well': *fortuna* is a neutral word like *valetudo* and means good or bad fortune acc. to the context: for the opposite sense see c. 49. 12.

§ 4. **eo . . . quod**, 'for the reason that they would be the first': the subj. after *quod* (= fut. perf. indic.) is due to the *Oratio Obliqua*.

primi: not quite correct: Ptolemy Philadelphus had made a treaty with Rome in 273.

§ 5. **accolas**, 'neighbours': cf. c. 11. 9 n.

ademissent . . . excedant: note the change of sequence.

infestam, 'put upon the defensive': *infestus* which is passive here and in c. 46. 1 is often used in an active sense, as in c. 9. 11 *infestius*: c. 26. 10 *infesto agmine*.

§ 6. **corpore**, 'league,' τὸ κοινόν: cf. c. 16. 9.

formulam, 'he would bring back under the former agreement regulating their rights and authority': *esum = Actōrum*. *Formula*, lit. = the form of words necessary to give legal validity to a procedure in law: for *que ac* cf. *que et*, e. g. xxv. 16. 19 *armisq; et corpora*, both formulae being employed by Livy only to connect two nouns except in one instance (xxv. 14. 5 *sequi et cohortem*: they are not found in Cicero or Caesar (Riemann, *op. cit.* p. 279)).

§ 7. **praetor**: στρατηγός was the technical Gk. term for the chief man of the league: *praetor* = *prae-itor*, 'one going in front,' 'leader' and so etymologically is the exact equivalent of the Gk. word.

princeps, 'a leading man': cf. *principum* § 1 above.

minore . . . fide, 'with less reserve and consequently gaining more credence.' The Greeks did not appreciate the Roman self-restraint, acc. to Livy. But the conception of αἰδώς was characteristically Greek, and Livy is probably only echoing the common Roman contempt for the Greeks. For *fides* in the sense of 'confidence inspired in others' cf. § 2 and c. 19. 14: for *uerecundia* cf. c. 50. 4.

§ 8. **conscriptae**, 'formally drawn up': cf. c. 12. 11 n.

uenirent: consecutive subj. for *ueniant* of the direct.

§ 9. **placeret**: sc. *iis*, i. e. the Elei, Lacedaemonii, &c.

Pleuratus: the son of Seerdilaedus: he seems to have been king of a Thracian tribe, as his father's kingdom was in Illyria.

Asiae: the kingdom of Pergamum, the later 133 B. C.) Roman province of Asia.

§ 10. **nauibus**, 'by sea,' in contrast to *terra* above.

minus: in expressions of number, *minus* and *plus* are inserted without affecting the rest of the construction, v. Roby, § 1273.

Romanus = *Romani*, c. 5. 14 n.

§ 11. **urbium**: depends on *solum*.

Corcyrae: gen. Cicero always employs the ablative with *tenus*.

incipienti, 'beginning with Aetolia' lit. 'to one beginning.' This dative is paralleled by the Greek construction of Thuc. i. 24 Ἐπὶ δ' αὖτος ἐστι πόλις ἐν δεξιᾷ ἐσπλέοντι τὸν Ἰόνιον κόλπον: we find the same constr. in c. 26. 2 *intranti*: so xxviii. 5. 18 *Euripum petenti ad locum . . . posita est*.

Aetolorum: sc. *essent*, from *esset* below, 'should belong to the Aetolians.'

§ 12. **adscriberent**, 'add a clause to the treaty' προσγράφειν: cf. c. 2. 4.

ita . . . si, 'only on condition that': for the more usual *ita . . . ut*.

dicionis, 'belonging to their jurisdiction,' = *sub dictione*.

abstinuisset : = *si abstinuerit* of the Oratio Recta.

§ 13. **caueret** : sc. *populus Romanus*, 'make a proviso.'

§ 14. **conscripta** : the text of a treaty was usually engraved upon stone and set up in a prominent position in the town of each of the contracting parties. The Aetolians chose Olympia partly on account of its sanctity, partly as a means of publishing the text of the agreement to the Greeks.

sacratis : consecrated by being set up *in loco sacro*.

§ 15. **legati** : the *πρεσβεία πρὸς ὅρκους* sent to Rome to receive the oaths of the senate to ratify the treaty.

id : the delay ; the pronoun is neuter because it refers to the whole statement in the previous sentence.

eam : i. e. *Zucynthum*, put in on account of the length of the parenthesis.

Oeniadas, Nasum : at the mouth of the Achelous.

Acarnanum : acc. to Weissenborn-Müller to be taken with *captas* in imitation of the Greek genitive. Pol. ix. 39, 2 *παρήρηνται . . . Ἀκαρνάνων Οἰνάδας* : it is much more likely to be possessive gen. after *Oeniadas* and *Nasum*, 'belonging to the Acarnanians.'

contribuit, 'incorporated with' the Aetolian confederacy.

§ 16. **satis . . . ne**, 'enough to prevent his devoting any attention to . . .': the use of *ne* is due to the idea of preventing implied in *implicatum*.

implicatum : we find *implicitum* in c. 26. 4 ; for the double form see Roby, i. p. 255.

CHAPTER XXV

§ 1. **defectio** : the Aetolians had concluded a treaty with Philip in 217 : this was broken when they joined Laevinus.

§ 2. **ut . . . haberet**, 'that Macedonia might have the Illyrians and the cities near them in his rear terrified into inactivity.' Livy writes *ab tergo* as if not *Macedonia* but *Philippus* were the subject of the sentence : *quietas* refers to both *Illyrios* and *urbis*.

Oricini, 'the people of Oricum,' in the extreme S. of Illyria : Apollonia was some distance to the N. near the river Aous.

terrore ac pauore : Cic. *Tusc.* iv. 8. 19 defines *terror* as *metus concutiens* resulting in *pallor et tremor et dentium crepitus* : *pauor* is *metus mentem loco commouens*.

§ 3. **proximis**, 'the neighbouring parts of Illyria,' neuter adj. used as a noun.

Pelagonia : the district of Macedonia bordering on Illyria.

Dardani : to the N. of the Paenonians and Pelagonia.

facturam, 'situated so as to secure to the Dardani the passage into Macedonia.'

§ 4. **Lyncum** : i. e. Lyncestis, the district S. of Pelagonia.

Bottiaea : S. E. of Lyncestis.

§ 5. **homines**, 'the inhabitants,' i. e. of Thessaly : so *homines* in c. 2. 1 = 'the senators' from *senatus* preceding.

fauces : c. 17. 4 : 'the passage into Thessaly,' i. e. Thermopylae.

Perseo : not his son, who was then only a child.

§ 6. **maioribus rebus** : i. e. the war in Greece.

ac : particularizes : cf. *in media urbis ac forum*, c. 40. 9.

Maedos : a Thracian tribe, living along the Strymon ; the reason for his marching here instead of into Greece follows.

§ 7. **sensisset** : subj. of indefinite frequency : an imitation of the Greek use of the optative of indefinite frequency, found in Livy and late writers. Cicero would have used the indic. Roby, § 1716.

§ 8. **caput arcemque**, 'principal town and chief stronghold.'

§ 9. **Scopas** : c. 24. 7.

iuuentute, 'fighting men' i. e. men from 17 to 40 years old ; abstract for concrete : cf. Polyb. vi. c. 19 ἐν τοῖς τετταρῖκοντα καὶ ἑξ ἑτέσιν ἀπὸ γενεάς. T. W. D.].

§ 10. **Oeniadas Nasumque** : c. 24. 15.

amissa : neuter referring to *Oeniadas* and *Nasum* : in c. 24. 15 we find the fem. *captus* : the neuter may be used when places are being spoken of.

ira . . . bellum, 'display more fury than wisdom in their preparations for the war.'

§ 11. **abquindecim**, 'those between fifteen and sixty' οἱ ἀπὸ πεντεκαίδεκα εἰς ἑξήκοντα ἔτη : the phrase forms a kind of compound subject to *coniuuant* : cf. c. 40. 14.

§ 12. **ne** : depends on the idea of prevention in *exsecrationem*.

lare, 'hearth' : the image of the *lar* was kept in a recess above the hearth in Roman houses.

popularis, 'fellow-countrymen' : cf. c. 50. 13.

aduersus, 'the most solemn assurances they could make binding on their allies' : cf. Pol. ix. 40. 4 ἀρὰς ἐποιήσαντο πᾶσι μὲν, μάλιστα δὲ Ἑπειρώταις.

§ 13. **suorum** : i. e. *Acamnanum*.

tumulo : like the burial mound at Marathon (Thuc. ii. 34).

titulum : ἐπιγράμμα, 'should inscribe over their remains the lines.' The inscription according to Greek custom would be an elegiac distich : cf. the epigrams of Simonides on the Spartans. For *titulus* cf. xxviii. 46. 16 *dedicauitque cum ingenti rerum gestarum titulo*.

§ 15. **extremis finibus**, 'on their frontiers.'

obuia, 'to bar the enemy's way.'

esset : dependent on verb implied in *nuntiis*.

alio : abl. of accompanying circumstances, 'his operations otherwise being prosperous.'

§ 16. **fama . . . auditus** : note the double way of expressing 'the news

of, *fama* with the genitive of, and *auditas* agreeing with, the noun : for a similar construction see c. 26. 10, *belli diuturnitatem et vastatos agros . . . querebantur*.

§ 17. **nec** : for *neque tamen*, 'and yet Philip did not,' Gk. οὐδέ. For this use of *neque* cf. *neque me invito* in Cic. *ad Att.* i. 13. 2 with Boot's note : Catull. lxiv. 83 *funera . . . nec funera*.

Dium : on the coast of the Thermaic Gulf, N. of Tempe. Philip was on his way through Macedonia and Thessaly to Thermopylae.

CHAPTER XXVI

§ 1. **ueris principio** : cf. *primo uere* in c. 25. 1.

superato, 'doubling the promontory of Leucas,' the S. W. point of Leucas (mod. K. Dukato).

Naupactum : to the left, a few miles inside the entrance to the Corinthian Gulf.

ut : depends on *edixit* : 'gave notice that he would attack A., and for the Aetolians to meet him there'; for the construction cf. xxvii. 28. 4 *miserat nuntios occisum conlegam esse . . . ne quibus litteris crederent nomine Marcelli compositis*.

§ 2. **laeua parte** : ἐν ἀριστερᾷ, 'on the left.'

intranti : c. 24. 11 n.

§ 3. **breue . . . brevis** : the repetition serves to emphasize the word, 'quite a short journey' : for the repetition cf. c. 27. 12, *nullam gentem . . . nullum populum*.

eo, 'to it,' i. e. from Aetolia.

utrimque : i. e. *terra marique*.

Romani : an additional guarantee for a vigorous blockade ; cf. the use of the proper name in c. 5. 14.

inde : *a mari*, 'on that side.'

ex pacto, 'in accordance with the bargain' ; cf. c. 24. 11.

§ 4. **redditae**, 'a letter was delivered' : for the force of *re-* see n. on *reposuisset*, c. 15. 9.

serius . . . uenit, 'was longer in coming than any one had expected.'

§ 5. **idibus Martiis** : 210 B. C., v. note on c. 1. 1.

moris modo causa, 'merely for form's sake' ; cf. *dicis causa*.

professus : the perfect participle is thus sometimes used to express an action contemporaneous with that of the main verb ; cf. xxiii. 1. 6 *prae se actam praedam . . . ostentantes*. The use is rare, except with deponents and semi-deponents. Madv. § 431 b.

§ 6. **uillis**, 'country houses.'

quibus, 'so far was it from being the case that they were prevented by any action of his from giving full publicity at Rome to the charges

invented by his adversaries, that, were it not for their hypocritical assertions that they felt a certain degree of fear in discussing the conduct of a consul during his colleague's absence, he would have granted them an immediate audience of the senate': *quibus* is dat. after *libet*; *per se* 'so far as he was concerned,' *quod ad se attinet*: the imperfect *simularent* implies that the action was still going on.

§ 7. **sibi**: referring to the subj. of *simularent*. They were afraid to attack Marcellus during his colleague's absence, as Marcellus would then be sole consul, and could do as he pleased. Still his *obrectatores*, of whom there seems to have been a considerable number, would be some check on him.

senatum, 'an audience of the senate.'

ut . . . introducantur: explanatory *ut*-clause, 'no business to have precedence of the introduction of the Sicilians.' *prius quam ut* = *prius quam id, ut*.

§ 8. **prope**: modifies *debetur*—'what one might call a beating up of recruits': so *prope iustitium* in § 9. Cicero generally uses *quasi* or *quidam* in this sense: cf. *prope torpor quidam*, c. 36. 1.

se: i. e. Marcello.

litteris, 'documents,' sworn declarations from Sicily and the like.

bellum . . . esse: depends on verb implied in *litteris*.

§ 9. **iustitium**, 'cessation of all public business.' The word is derived from *iuris statio*, 'closing of the courts'; cf. Greenidge, *op. cit.*, p. 175.

uexisset: virtual *Oratio Obliqua*.

§ 10. **otium**: the opposite of *negotium*: it is here = *iustitium*. Sometimes it is opposed to *bellum*, and then = *pax*.

belli . . . agros: v. note on c. 25. 16.

qua, 'wherever Hannibal had gone in his destroying march.'

§ 11. **nedum**: 'much less would they be likely to accord the state a breathing space in the midst of war'; for *nedum* cf. c. 13. 16 n.

CHAPTER XXVII

§ 1. **sermones**: the *plebis rumores* of c. 26. 10.

nocte: goes with *ortum*.

Quinquatrus: acc. plur.; cf. *prido Kalendas*. The Quinquatrus was a festival in honour of Minerva beginning on March 19 and lasting five days: cf. Hor. *Ep.* ii. 2. 197 with Wilkins' note.

[**pluribus**: Livy's account only mentions *two* places, the fire spreading to the rest from these. T.W.D.].

§ 2. **tabernae**: the Septem Tabernae were acc. to Homo (*Lexique de Top. Rom.* s. v.) to the east of the Forum. They were rebuilt in 209 (xxvii. 11. 16: apparently they were not standing in Livy's time, as *quae postea* (sc. *appellabantur*) implies.

argentariae : see c. 11. 7 n. These offices were rebuilt in 192 B.C., and renamed *nouae* to distinguish them from the *quinque tabernae* already built.

§ 3. **basilicae** : in Livy's time the space round the Forum was taken up with public buildings and *basilicae* : he adds *neque enim tum basilicae erant* to explain how it was that *privata aedificia* could catch fire from burning shops in the Forum. The *basilicae* were large halls surrounded by a colonnade in which the public could walk during rain or take shelter from heat in summer. The interior was sometimes used as a court of justice. In Livy's day there were the *Basilica Iulia* south-west of the Forum, the *Basilica Aemilia* to the north-east, and the *Basilica Opimia* to the north.

lautumiae : the region to the north-west of the Forum, containing the State prison or *lautumiae*, so called from the *λατομιαί*, the 'stone quarries' which at Syracuse were used as a prison. [A place believed to have been a prison has very recently been excavated on the north-east side of the Forum, near the temple of Faustina and close to the *Fornix Fabianus*. The level of the floor is that of the Forum about the third century B.C. It seems very probable that this was the *lautumiae* referred to in the text. See E. Burton-Brown, *Recent Excavations in the Roman Forum*, p. 169. T.W.D.]

forum piscatorium, 'the fish market,' lying to the north of the Forum, under the *Carinae*.

atrium regium : identified by Homo (*op. cit.* s.v.) with the *Atrium Vestae*, to the south of the Forum, bordering on the *Nova Via*. It was supposed to be the ancient 'royal hall' of the regal period. [I think the identification of the *atrium regium* by Weissenborn-Müller with the *atrium Vestae* more than doubtful. The fire was spreading eastwards from the site subsequently occupied by the *Basilicae* on the north side of the Forum via the *lautumiae* and the fish market to the *atrium regium*, and when this took fire it threatened the temple of Vesta. Nearer to the course of the flames than the *atrium Vestae* (residence of the Vestals) was the *domus publica*, the official residence of the *pontifex maximus*, a building distinct from the *regia*, the scene of his official duties. The *domus publica* was as near the temple of Vesta as was the *atrium Vestae* and *atrium regium* seems a very natural name for it. The flames passed along the north side of the *Sacra Via* until they reached the *Fornix Fabianus*, where there seems to have been a guard-house on the other side of the street, with some private houses adjacent to convey the fire on to the *domus publica*, which was hard by. These flames could not have reached the *atrium Vestae* except by way of the *domus publica*, and if it had been burnt we should expect the fact to be mentioned. See the map in Burton-Brown, *op. cit.* facing p. 214. T.W.D.]

§ 4. **aedis Vestae** : towards the centre of the Forum, between the *Nova Via* and the *Sacra Via*.

in **publicum redempti**, 'bought by the community,' lit. 'bought into the treasury': for *publicum* (neut. adj. used as noun) cf. *vendidit in privatum* xl. 51. 5. [For the procedure cf. the device attributed to Tiberius in Tac. *Ann.* ii. 30 *mancipari singulos (servos) actori publico iubet*. T.W.D.]

§ 5. **humana** = *hominum*: 'by human hands and from an evil motive'; it was done by *men*, not by the *gods*, and by design not accident.

factum esse: for the acc. and infin. after *non dubium erat* cf. c. 15. 5 n.

et iis diuersis, 'and those, too, lying in different directions.'

essent: subjunctive of reported reason, 'because (as was thought) . . '

§ 6. **pro contione**, 'in a public meeting.'

conflatum: *se. esset*; *conflare* in Cicero is often used with the implication of underhand proceedings and this idea is probably contained here: cf. *pro Sulla*, § 13 *quibus ipsis periculum tum conflare uidebatur* with Reid's note.

libero . . . seruo, 'if free . . . if a slave,' the words are in apposition to *ei*, understood as antecedent to *qui*.

§ 7. **Calauiorum**: a member of this family, Pacuvius Calavius, had been one of the principal leaders in the revolt of Capua; cf. xxiii. 2. 2 sqq.

Manus: nom. in apposition to *nomen*; cf. c. 8. 2 n.

dominos, 'his masters,' the Calavii.

uulgo, 'everywhere through the city.'

§ 8. **familiae**, 'households,' i. e. *serui*.

elenabatur, 'an attempt was made to discredit': cf. *elenabant uerbis*, c. 51. 11 n.

discessisse: dependent on verb of saying implied in *elenabatur*.

iram et leuitatem: hendiadys, 'in a fit of unreasoning anger.'

§ 9. **ceterum**: for *sed*, frequent in Sallust and Livy: not found in Cicero or Caesar.

quaestio, 'torture began to be applied in the open forum to the agents of the crime': it was a principle of Roman law that no evidence could be accepted from a slave unless under torture.

conscios, 'implicated.'

aeris = *assianae*.

§ 10. **praetereunti**: on his way back from Greece, after his recovery c. 26. 4). He would land at Brundisium, and come by the Via Appia which led past Capua.

si . . . possent, 'in the hope that they might at last be melted by some feelings of pity': *possent*, *sc. senatores*.

perditum irent, 'persist in ruining them': *perditum* is the supine: cf. *pessum ire*, 'go to destruction,' *pessum dare*.

§ 11. **Flaccus**: he was probably present at the interview.

simultatem, 'grudge against.'

negare: historic infinitive.

publicas, goes with the predicate: 'the hostile feelings he had were on public grounds and would continue . . .'

eo = *tali*, as often.

esse: sc. *eos*.

§ 12. **nullam**: for the emphatic repetition see c. 26. 2 n.

nomini Romano. 'every one bearing the name of Roman.'

aliqua, 'in any direction whatever'; *aliqua* is stronger than *qua*, which would be more usual after *si*.

feras bestias: v. c. 13. 12 n.: *velut* introduces the simile which is carried on in the infinitives *ugari*, *laniare* 'tear in pieces'.

ugari: note the use of the acc. and infin. in a subordinate clause introduced by a conjunction (*quia*) in Oratio Obliqua. Adv. § 402 a.

obuiam detur, 'presented itself.'

§ 14. **petitam**, 'had been assailed.'

ignis: the fire on the altar of Vesta, in charge of the Vestals.

penetrati, 'inmost shrine.'

pignus: the *palladium*, 'the magic pledge' (*fatale pignus*) of the continuance of the state; brought from Troy by Aeneas.

fatale: 'belonging to, connected with, fate' is the usual meaning of the word: it sometimes, though rarely, = 'fatal' in a sinister sense; this is clearly the meaning in Cic. *Phil.* ii. 5. 11 *cuius quidem fatum tibi . . . manet, quoniam id domi tuae est, quod fuit illorum utrique fatale*: so probably in *pro reg. Deiot.* 5. 13 *hoc misce fatalique bello*.

minime: an emphatic negative. 'was very far from thinking': cf. ix. 14. 14 *ut doceretur miles minime cuiquam militum consules odio in hostes cessisse*; Cic. *Tusc.* i. 6. 10; *An tu haec non credis? Minime vero. Minime* may go with *tutum*, as Weissenborn-Müller take it.

§ 15. **quam** = *postquam*; Adv. § 276, obs. 6.

redituros: sc. *se*, the accusative and infinitive depending on verb of saying implied in *iureiurando adactos*.

§ 16. **praebuit**. 'He might have been supposed to be displaying his sympathy for the fate of two noble cities, and to be conducting the victims of conquest to the capital to accuse their illustrious conquerors.' *excidio* is ablative with *dolere*: *uiris* is dative after *accusatores*.

celeberrimis = *clarissimis*; cf. *duo celeberrimi nominis duces* xxvii. 40. 6. This use of *celeber* is not Ciceronian and does not seem to occur in prose before Livy.

§ 17. **tamen**: in spite of Laevinus' seeming favour to the Sicilians.

CHAPTER XXVIII

§ 1. **et . . . -que**: *et* connects *Macedonia* and *Graccia*, the two divisions of 'Laevinus' sphere of operations: then the names of the peoples come next in apposition: *Acarnanes* and *Locri* being connected by *que* as they

are taken together and are contrasted with the Aetolians, the enemies of both.

§ 2. **compulsum** : this account of the operations is inconsistent with that given in cc. 24-6. Livy there adopts the same account as Polybius : here he evidently depends on some more 'patriotic' source. See Introduction.

intuma : adj. used as noun : cf. c. 1. 6 *relica belli*.

legionem, 'the legion' : Laevinus, as propractor, had only one legion under his command (xxiv. 44. 5).

inde : i. e. *a Macedonia et Graecia*.

prouincia : c. 21. 2 n. : Laevinus' *prouincia* was officially called *Graecia Macedoniaque* (xxiv. 44. 5).

§ 3. **consul** : sc. *dixit*.

Otacilius : c. 1. 12 n.

Sicilian : evidently the senate did not share Marcellus' optimism (c. 21. 2 when they appointed a proconsul to take command along with a propractor as *adiutor*).

§ 4. **eae**, 'they,' i. e. the armies, but the pronoun agrees in gender with the predicate (*legiones*) of its own sentence.

mitterentur : representing an imperative or present subjunctive of the Oratio Recta.

§ 5. **quem**, 'whomsoever the consul in command over Italy should appoint' : *proficisset* represents *proficeret* of the Oratio Recta.

§ 7. **duabus** : in c. 5. 8 we find six legions at Capua : after the capture picked men from two are sent to Spain with Nero (c. 17. 1 ; there are left four, two being assigned to each consul : as nothing is said here of the two that Claudius had we may assume they had been withdrawn or disbanded.

legio : the strength of a Roman legion varied at different periods. During the earliest period it consisted of 3,000 foot soldiers : during the period of the early wars its strength was about 4,000 : from the outbreak of the war with Hannibal till the reforms of Marius it seldom fell below 5,000, and Livy evidently regards this as the normal number. Three hundred was the regular complement of cavalry.

§ 8. **stipendia**, 'those who had seen most service' ; *stipendium*, lit. 'pay,' is often used in the sense of 'campaign,' the period during which the pay is earned.

[**trecenti** : Livy wrote cccc, as the complement of equites furnished by the allies was usually larger. Numerals are often corrupted in MSS. T.W.D.]

eadem, 'the same weight being attached to length of service in dismissing the veterans' : *ueteribus* is really redundant, being implied in the former part of the sentence, cf. c. 6. 2 : 16. 4 and notes.

§ 9. **tantum**, 'they contented themselves with prolonging his command for a year.'

dimittere: according to Laevinus' advice (§ 3).

§ 11. **obtinendam**, 'holding Sicily'; i. e. the Roman province (c. 1. 7).

Cannenses: c. 1. 10.

instar, 'equivalent to two legions': *instar*, originally perhaps an infinitive *instare*, came to be used as an indeclinable noun = 'an equivalent.' Lindsay, *Hist. Lat. Gr.* p. 39. In xxviii. 17. 2 *paruum instar eorum* it = 'specimen, sample.'

§ 12. **in Sardiniam**. For the construction cf. *in Hispaniam*, c. 18. 4.

§ 13. **ita . . . ne**: cf. *satis . . . ne*, c. 24. 16: 'provided that they did not': the use of *ne* instead of *ut non* after *ita* when used in its restrictive sense is due to the idea of purpose implied: cf. c. 8. 7 n.

una et uiginti. Livy's enumeration only accounts for seventeen; the remaining four must be supposed to be in Spain.

CHAPTER XXIX

§ 1. **sortiti**, 'drew lots for': the senate decided beforehand what two provinces were to be assigned to the consuls for the year, the consuls then drew lots between themselves for them.

§ 2. **sors**, 'the result of the lot': so below *expectatione sortis*, 'waiting for the result'; cf. the use in § 8.

conuerterint, 'attracted': cf. *conuerteret omnium oculos*, c. 50. 1. For the tense see Roby, § 1516.

postmodo: not found in either Cicero or Caesar.

§ 3. **sordida**, 'in mourning'; cf. *sordidatus reus* xxvii. 34. 12. It was the custom at Rome for defendants in trials, or other persons threatened by serious misfortune, to endeavour to excite sympathy by appearing in mourning (cf. Cic. *pro Mur.* §§ 42, 86; *pro Cluent.* §§ 18, 192). Here the Sicilians though the accusers of Marcellus (c. 27. 16) yet assume the position of the accused.

quosque: after *suam*, as usual: the plural (which is rare in Latin) is used here to mean 'each community' represented by the envoys: *quemque* would mean 'each individual': so *utrique* 'each of two parties,' c. 39. 23.

iterum . . . redisset—pleonasm.

§ 4. **merito**, 'through no fault of theirs,' *meritum* being a neutral word, like *ualetudo*, *fortuna*, &c.

quod . . . sciat: for *quod, ut sciebat, uenerunt*, 'because they came, as he knew.' For a similar inaccuracy in expression cf. *Bellouaci suum numerum non compleuerunt, quod se . . . bellum gesturos dicerent* (Caesar, *B. G.* vii. 75). Roby, § 1746.

facturum : infinitive, because the question is merely rhetorical.

freto : sc. *Siciliensi* : the Sicilians would naturally think of it as 'the Strait' ; the use of *fretum* = 'sea' in general (e. g. Hor. *C. i.* 15. 1) seems to be confined to poetry.

noxae : *noxae deditio* in Roman law is the technical term for handing over a slave or a child *in potestate* to a person whom he had injured for punishment (Greenidge, *Rom. Public Life*, 8. 19). The metaphor is softened by *uelut*.

§ 5. **celebratae**, 'widely discussed.'

invidia, 'hatred,' so very frequently.

§ 6. **postulatum**, 'a demand was presented to the consuls,' sc. by the senators.

dicere : historic inf.

forsitan : here used adverbially. In Cicero it is a conjunction, always followed by a subjunctive : for the adverb Cicero employs *fortasse* and *forte*.

§ 7. **potestate**. For the reluctance felt by provincials to oppose the Roman governor see the interesting and instructive narrative in Cicero in *Verrem* ii. 4. 63, §§ 141 sqq.

§ 8. **deprecari**, 'he begged the senate not to prejudice his case by any formal deliverance : for, as it would have been unfair for his colleague to be offered his choice of a province without drawing lots, how much greater injustice, or rather what an insult, would be inflicted on him if the province after being allotted to him should be transferred to his colleague' : *fuert* represents *fuist* of the direct. For *iniucum fuist*, 'it would have been unfair,' see Roby, § 1535, c : *sors sua*, 'what fell to him by lot' (sc. his *provincia*), cf. the use of *sors* in § 2 and ix. 42. 1.

§ 9. **magis . . . quam**, 'indicated without a formal decision being taken.'

ipsos, 'by themselves' ; cf. the use of *αἱτῶς* : e. g. *αὐτὰ γὰρ εἶπεν*, 'we are alone,' Herond. vi. 70.

fato, 'Destiny was impatient to pit Marcellus against Hannibal, and to secure that as he had been the first after an unbroken series of disasters to snatch from his hands the glory of a victory, so he might be the last of the Roman generals whose fall—a fall in the very hour of success—would be added to his laurels' : *primus* referring to Marcellus' success at Nola in 212. He was not killed till 208.

CHAPTER XXX

§ 1. **Hiero** : king of Syracuse, the faithful ally of the Romans from 263 till his death in 216.

auertentes, 'trying to represent it (sc. *Hieronis fidem*) as a merit of the Syracusan people' : for *auertere* in this sense cf. *auertit ab consciis in insontis*

indictum, xxiv. 5. 11 : O. Keller reads *in <sc> gratiam publicam* 'trying to win for themselves the gratitude of the State,' erroneously, as it was for the state, not for themselves, they wished to claim the credit.

§ 2. **Hieronymus** : grandson and successor of Hiero, who abandoned the Romans for the Carthaginians on his accession (xxiv. 4. 1 sqq.).

Hippocrates . . . Epicydes : envoys of Hannibal in Syracuse who obtained great influence after Hieronymus' murder (xxiv. 6. 2 sqq.).

principibus iuuentutis, 'young knights.' The phrase *princeps iuuentutis* seems to have denoted at Rome a young man of senatorial rank serving in the cavalry : cf. Liv. ii. 12. 15 : ix. 14. 16 : xlii. 61. 5 ; and the corresponding *proceres iuuentutis*, ii. 20. 11 : x. 28. 7. From the time of Augustus the title of *princeps iuuentutis* was given to a younger member of the Imperial house (Tac. *Ann.* i. 3).

publico consilio : δημοσία. The people eventually sympathized with the assassins and left Hieronymus' body unburied (xxiv. 21. 3) : but to represent the murder as their doing is an exaggeration : translate, 'the murder of Hieronymus had been practically due to a resolution of the community.'

§ 3. **in**, 'with a view to the murder.'

septuaginta : Livy says *octoginta* in xxv. 23. 6.

mora, 'left in the lurch by Marcellus' delay' : there is nothing about this in the previous narrative, xxv. 23. 5 sqq.

§ 4. **eam quoque**, 'and that very tyranny too had been caused by Marcellus.' *eam quoque* would have been expressed in Cicero by *et* (or *atque*) *eam ipsam* : the use of *quoque* to mark a climax or gradation is non-Ciceronian.

Leontinis : see xxiv. 30. 2 sqq. : Hippocrates and Epicydes had made use of the report of Marcellus' cruelties at the capture of Leontini to induce the Syracusans to close their gates.

§ 5. **deinde**, 'in the second place,' as if *primum* had preceded : their first point, that they had been ill-affected to the Carthaginian party in Syracuse is in §§ 2-4 : in §§ 5-6 we have their second point, that they had actually offered to join the Romans. *Deinde* in this sense usually comes first in its clause : but Livy (e. g. ii. 8. 3) sometimes puts it second. As for these alleged offers of surrender, we have no previous mention of them in the narrative of the siege.

§ 6. **dein** : to avoid repeating *deinde*.

id : i. e. *ui capere urbem*.

auctores . . . habere, 'he preferred to give Sosis and Moericus the credit for the betrayal of Syracuse' : *auctores* here = αἰτίους, as is shown by the past part. *traditarum* : had Livy meant by *auctores habere* 'to follow their advice in' he would have used *tradendarum*.

fabrum aerarium, 'a coppersmith.' χαλκοτύπος.

offerentis: represents *qui offerrent*, 'though they used to offer,' the present of the part. corresponding to an imperfect.

scilicet, 'just that he might have a more plausible excuse for butchering and plundering,' *scilicet* is sarcastic.

§ 7. **publice**=*publico consilio*.

animis, 'venom,' the plural has an intensive force.

§ 8. **ut**: an explanatory *ut*-clause: it = *quid ultra* . . . *ficerit nisi id, ut* 'but this, namely that,' &c., cf. c. 26. 7 *non quicquam prius . . . quam ut*, and note there.

potuisse: for *potuit* of the Oratio Recta: for the indic. in the apodosis after the protasis *si* . . . *gessissent* see Roby, § 1535: and for the infinitive to represent a rhetorical question cf. c. 35. 10 n.

§ 9. **certe**, 'at any rate,' δ' οὖν.

dis ipsis: i. e. *deorum signis ipsis*: cf. Cicero, *In Verre*. ii. 4. 49 § 109 *dico . . . hanc ipsam Cererem . . . a C. Verre ex suis templis . . . esse sublatam*: the god was supposed to be in some way resident in the statue.

The fact that Marcellus plundered Syracuse seems to be established, though Cicero in his *Fourth Verrine* §§ 120 sqq. declares that he touched practically nothing: *itaque aedificiis omnibus, publicis privatis, sacris profanis, sic pepercit, quasi ad ea defendenda cum exercitu non expugnanda venisset*. But the testimony of Polybius is explicit: ἐκρίθη μὲν οὖν δὲ αὐτοῦ τοῦτο τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις τὰ μὲν Συρακοσῶν πολυτελέστατα κατασκευάσματα πάντα μετὰ τὴν ἄλωσιν μετακομίζειν εἰς τὴν ἑαυτῶν πατρίδα καὶ μηδὲν ἀπολιπεῖν (Pol. ix. 10. 2). He adds some strong remarks on the practice: ἐξ ἧν οὐ μόνον φθόρος ἀλλὰ οἶον ὀργή τις ἐκκαίεται πρὸς τοὺς εὐτυχοῦντας (§ 10). Plut. (*Marc.* c. 21. 6) says that Marcellus made a boast of his plundering works of art, ὥς τὰ καλὰ καὶ τὰ θαυμαστά τῆς Ἑλλάδος οὐκ ἐπισταμένους τιμᾶν καὶ θαυμάζειν Ῥωμαῖους διδάξας. In xxvii. 16. 5 Livy contrasts Marcellus' conduct here with that of Fabius at Tarentum, *qui interroganti scribæ quid fieri signis vellet . . . deos iratos Tarentinis relinquere iussit*.

§ 10. **nudo**, 'even with the bare soil,' which was no longer theirs, being now *ager publicus* of the Romans: *reliquis* is in apposition to *solo*, 'left to them from the plunder of their property.'

omnia: sc. *restituere*.

compareant, 'were forthcoming and could be recognized': for *compare* cf. Cic. *Verr.* ii. 1. 50 § 132 (in a similar connexion) *cum ille diceret . . . signa et dona comparare omnia*, so Livy xxvii. 24. 8 *claves portarum cum magistratus poposcisset, rogantibus eis comparare . . . alias claves imposuit*.

§ 11. **templo**, 'the consecrated precincts,' i. e. of the *curia* (cf. c. 31. 1). For *templum* cf. n. on i. 1.

§ 12. **immo**, 'Nay, let them remain': *immo* is very common in answers in the sense of 'on the contrary,' e. g. ix. 34. 6 *nemo id ius esse . . . scit? immo vero omnes sciuerunt*.

coram : adverbial : *iis* is dative after *respondeam*.

quando : for *quandoquidem*, 'since,' rare except in poetry and post-Ciceronian prose.

ut habeamus : the force of *ut* goes on to *habeant* ; note the asyndeton.

Capua : c. 27. 10.

CHAPTER XXXI

§ 1. **curiam** : the Curia Hostilia, in the Comitium to the north of the Forum.

legatis : sc. *Siculis* : an accusation against a provincial governor took the form of a *legatio* from the injured city or cities to the senate.

huius : i. e. *consularis*.

Graecis : contemptuous : cf. n. on c. 24. 7.

fuerim : the subjunctive is due to the *ut* : the conditional sentence would be *si . . . ambigeretur, non consul dicturus eram*, 'if there were a doubt, I would not be likely to plead.' For the indic. in the apodosis of conditional sentences after a subj. in the protasis, v. Roby, §§ 1564 sqq.

§ 2. **in hostibus**, 'in the case of enemies,' c. 2. 14.

isti, 'my opponents' ; see n. on § 6.

§ 3. **sin** : used to introduce a supposition contrary to a foregoing one (here, *si non fuerunt hostes*).

legatos, 'attacked our envoys,' see xxiv. 33. 2 : they had been sent by Appius after the capture of Leontini in 214 : for *petierunt* cf. *Vestae aedem petitam*, c. 27. 14.

fecerint : sc. *hostilia*.

§ 4. **tradentis**, 'offering to betray' = *cum tradebant* : cf. *offerentis* c. 30. 6 n. This and the following sentence (down to *habui*) are Marcellus' statement of his adversaries' charge—'but I shall be told that I . . .': in Cicero such a sentence is usually introduced by *at enim*.

aversatus : cf. *aversatum esse* § 6 below, 'rejected.'

crederem : the subj. is consecutive, 'fitter to be entrusted with so important an undertaking.'

aliis : i. e. *Sosis* and *Moericus* : see c. 30. 6.

§ 5. **fecerunt**, 'did so' ; i. e. *mīlites acceperunt* : *facio* is thus often used in Latin to take the place of a verb preceding.

hic : i. e. *in curia*.

parcitis, 'refrain from uttering insults' : so *parcere lamentis Sutrinis iussit*, vi. 3. 4.

tantum abest, 'so far are you from having been likely to do anything of the kind yourselves.'

§ 6. **isti**, 'my opponents' : *iste* was thus regularly used in legal phraseology, almost equivalent to *reus*.

nauatam, 'was willing to exert himself on behalf of our country' :

for the use of the past part. after *uolo* and similar verbs see Roby, § 1402.

§ 7. **obsiderem**: final.

nunc . . . nunc, 'at one time . . . at another': this use is not found in Cicero, who has either *nunc . . . nunc* or *tum . . . tum* (e.g. *Lacl.* § 13).

uerecundia: *αἰδώς*, 'scruple.'

congresso, 'having interviews with the leading men.' not mentioned in the narrative of the siege in book xxv.

multis, 'after a trying experience of many hardships by land and sea': the reference is principally to the difficulties caused by the excellent defence of Archimedes: as Plutarch *Marc.* 16. 3^d says, καὶ θεομαχοῦσιν ἐφάνεσαν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι, μυρίων αὐτοῖς κακῶν ἐξ ἀφανοῦς ἐπιχειρομένων.

§ 8. **acciderint**: they would have more right to complain of the hardships incidental to a captive's lot. *acciderint* is a 'class-subjunctive' and its use adds a sting to the sentence: a captive's lot was all they had to expect and any complaints they had to make on that score would be more properly addressed to Hannibal, who had led them into the war, than to the senate. *quarrentur* is potential subj. Roby, § 1540. For the sneer cf. Papirius' reply to the Samnite envoys: *debaissis eos Pontium, . . . quaquatore Romanos sub iugum misissent, consulere, quid dictis patiendum censeret*, ix. 15. 4.

§ 9. **dedi**: as rewards for services: these would be given out of the spoils, not out of the Roman treasury.

§ 10. **rata**, 'whether you ratify them or not.' The *acta* (see *acta rescindendo* below) of a governor of a province, the measures taken by him during his tenure of office, had to be ratified by the senate, the supreme authority in provincial matters (v. Willems, *Le droit publ. rom.*, p. 226).

quippe, 'at any rate,' v. c. 38. 4 n.

exsoluta: a metaphor from business transactions: 'my debt of conscience has been paid in full.'

§ 11. **templo**: cf. c. 30. II.

dilectum: the levy of the *legiones urbanae* c. 28. 13: Plut. (*Marc.* 23) says that Marcellus had been offering sacrifice on the Capitol when he was summoned to the senate, and that after making his defence he went out καὶ πρὸ τῶν θεῶν τοῦ βουλευτηρίου διέτριβεν. Livy has tried to heighten τὸ πεποιθὸς τοῦ ἀνδρός.

CHAPTER XXXII

§ 1. **consul alter**: i. e. Laevinus.

ibi, 'thereupon,' of time, as often.

diu, 'after a long conflict of opinions': *sententiis* is ablative of instrument on the analogy of phrases like *armis certare*.

principe, 'Manlius being the first to take this view.' According to senatorial custom, the other members of the senate who agreed with him

and had nothing to add to his remarks might leave their places and sit beside him: the presiding magistrate could thus see at a glance the opinion of the house. (*Greenidge, Rom. Publ. Life*, p. 271.)

§ 2. **censerent**: the construction is irregular: from *cum tyrannis . . . respublica esset* (§ 3) is the formal preamble of the *sententia*. In English it would run: 'Resolved that, whereas the war was to have been waged with the tyrants . . . and whereas the city is yielded up, not captured, and whereas on its reception it is to be established in the possession of . . . not crushed by warlike measures, and whereas the city has perished, &c.'—then the resolution would have gone on to describe the procedure to be adopted. But the rhetoric of the parenthetical § 4, which is merely an amplification of *urbem perisse*, &c., has made Livy forget his beginning and he breaks off abruptly with *haec taliaque cum . . .*

recipi: for the use of the present here cf. *mutare*, c. 22. 8 n.: so *stabiliri*.

servitute: under Hieronymus, Epicydes and Hippocrates.

§ 3. **medio**: cf. *Dem. Phil.* i § 5 ἅθλα τοῦ πολέμου κείμεν' ἐν μέσῳ.

pulcherrimam: cf. *Cic. in Verr.* ii. 4 § 117 *urbem Syracusas maximam esse Graecarum, pulcherrimam omnium saepe audistis: est, iudices, ita ut dicitur*: then follows a long description of the site.

quondam. Weissenborn notes that Livy here attributes to Manlius a reflection which is only true from the standpoint of later history, and more applicable to the island as a whole than to Syracuse: cf. n. on *Hispaniae*, c. 37. 8.

§ 4. **quo ore**, 'how could they meet his eye when they showed him Syracuse and Rome?' lit. 'with what face could S. and R. be shown?': cf. *nam quo ore appellabo patrem?* *Ter. Haut.* 700.

uestibulo, 'suburbs,' lit. 'entrance hall.' The reference is to the temples to Honor and Virtus erected by Marcellus outside the Porta Capena (by which a traveller from Sicily would enter Rome) and adorned with the spoils of Syracuse (xxv. 40. 3: *Plut. Marc.* 28. 1.)

§ 5. **invidiam**: c. 29. 5.

mitius: they took a more favourable view of Marcellus' proceedings than the debate would have led one to expect. Marcellus' *obtretractores* had more talking power than votes.

§ 6. **acta**: c. 31. 10 n.

uictor: = *cum uicisset*.

in relicum: sc. *tempus*.

rem Syracusanam, 'the interests of Syracuse,' = *rem publicam Syracusanam*.

quod . . . posset, 'so far as could be done without loss to the state': *quod* has for its antecedent an unexpressed pronoun in the accusative, 'in regard to that, which . . .'

§ 7. **Capitolium** : c. 31. 11.

uti rediret, 'to tell him to return,' depending on verb of speaking implied in *missis*.

§ 8. **ueniam**, 'should pardon them for what *eorum, quae* they had said.'

fidem, 'protection and patronage': Marcellus would stand to them in the relation of a *patronus* to his *clientes*. The Syracusans would look to him and, on his death, to his descendants to protect their interests at Rome, appear for them in court when necessary, &c. We know from Cicero's *Verrines* that the traditional relationship between the Marcelli and Syracuse lasted down to the end of the Republic.

CHAPTER XXXIII

§ 1. **Campanis**, 'the people of Capua'; see c. 4. 2 n.

senatus, 'an audience of the senate'; cf. c. 21. 1.

§ 2. **meritas** : sc. *esse*.

satis, 'punishment enough had been endured,' *penitum* is partitive-genitive : *pensum*, lit. 'weighed out,' cf. *satis pro temeritate unius hominis suppliciorum pensum esse*, xxxiv. 61. 8.

tot . . . tot : twenty-seven had died of poison c. 14. 3, fifty-three had been executed (c. 14. 9).

§ 3. **paucos**, 'only a few.'

conscientia, 'a bad conscience.' The word in itself means 'consciousness' of any kind: *conscientia mali* = 'consciousness of wrong,' i.e. 'a bad conscience' (as here, cf. *scelerum conscientia exagitati*, Sall. *Or. Phil.* 7: *conscientia boni* 'a good conscience.' 'Conscience' in the sense of a directing or guiding force, as distinguished from reflection upon one's actions, is never *conscientia* in good Latin, but *fides* or *religio*.

capitis : c. 3. 9 n.

eos : Weissenborn-Müller read *eo se* and take *civis* as a second accusative after *orare* : *plerosque* will then be in apposition to *se* : 'for this reason they begged liberty . . . from the citizens of Rome, being in most cases connected with them,' &c. Reading *eos* and punctuating after *orare* we get, 'These men (i.e. the *pauci nobilium*) begged for liberty . . . being in most cases Roman citizens united to them (i.e. the other Romans) by,' &c.

aliquam, 'some part at any rate'; c. 2. 13 n.

adfinatibus : relationship by marriage : *cognatio* denotes relationship by birth.

conubio = *iur. conubii*. The *equites Campani* had gained the full citizenship in 339, and the rest of the people had gained the *civitas sine suffragio* in 338 : in both cases the *iur. conubii* would, of course, be included (see viii. 11. 16 and viii. 14. 10).

§ 4. **templo** : c. 31. 11.

post. In c. 16. 1 Livy rejects the view of some authorities (*quidam*) that Claudius had died *sub deditimem Capuae*. It is not necessary to assume that Livy is inconsistent, as Weissenborn-Müller do. What he rejects in c. 16. 1 is the view that Claudius died too soon after the capture to take any part in the fate of the Campanian senators: here he records that he did actually die sometime between the capture and this meeting of the senate: he had been wounded in the shoulder during the siege, c. 6. 5.

consul. He had only been *proconsul* at the time of the capture: so also in § 7.

§ 5. **eius** : i.e. *Flacci*.

legatos, lieutenants or chiefs-of-staff nominated by a consul: there was generally one for each legion, as here.

§ 6. **Regulus**: he had been *legatus* of the sixth legion and had distinguished himself at Capua (c. 6. 1 f.)

auctoritas: he had been *praetor urbanus* in 213 (xxiv. 44. 2): none of the others had as yet held curule office.

§ 7. **consilio**, 'council of war,' called *praetorium* in c. 15. 6.

arbitror, 'I depose that' (lit. 'I am a witness (*arbiter*) that'): for this use of *arbitror* cf. iii. 13. 3: iv. 40. 6: Cic. *pro Font.* 9. 29 *illud uerbum . . . , arbitror, quo nos etiam tunc utimur cum ea dicimus iurati quae comperta habemus.*

ecqui: *ecquis* is the form generally used for the pronoun, while *ecqui* is adjectival.

§ 8. **mulieres**: not subject to *bene meritas esse* to be supplied, as Weissenborn-Müller say: the word has, strictly speaking, no verb of its own, as *illam* and *hanc* which are in partitive apposition to it have each its appropriate verb: for a similar construction cf. Caesar, *B. G.* i. 53 *duae filiae harum, altera occisa, altera capta est*; xxvii. 42. 7 *elephanti . . . quattuor occisi, duo capti.*

Atellanam, 'of Atella,' a town between Capua and Cumae: there was a family of *Atellani* in Capua, as one Gnaeus Magius Atellanus had been *medix* in 214 (xxiv. 19. 2), but in the case of this woman *Cumae habitantem* implies that she was not a native.

suppeditasse, here used transitively: it is often intrans. = 'to be in abundance,' e.g. vi. 24. 2 *multitudo suppeditabat.*

§ 9. **securique**, 'those who were beheaded by Fulvius were the most conspicuous rather than the most guilty of the number.'

§ 10. **populi**. By the *lex Valeria de provocatione* of 509 B. C., re-enacted in various forms, every Roman citizen had a right of appeal to the people from the sentence of a magistrate. It would then be a waste of time for any authority beneath that of the people to pass a sentence that the Campanians could appeal against. The appeal in this case would lie,

not from the senate, but from the magistrate who attempted to carry into effect the *senatus consultum*.

apud, 'in the time of.'

Satricanis: the people of Satricum, who had revolted to the Samnites after the battle of the Caudine forks. Livy says nothing about any judgement of the people when telling their story in ix. 16. 10.

ut: explanatory clause after *id*; cf. c. 26. 7.

plebs: i. e. the *concilium plebis* from which patricians were excluded. Strictly speaking this was not an assembly of the *populus* and could pass only *plebiscita* not *leges*: but it was often resorted to in cases where speed was required, as a meeting of the *concilium plebis* could be summoned without the formalities of the regular *comitia*. For this assembly see Greenidge, *Roman Publ. Life* (253 and Appendix I).

§ 11. **agendum**: c. 2. 5 n.

qua: abl. 'to give us the right': the subj. is final.

§ 12. **auctoritate**, 'in accordance with the opinion of the senate': the phrase *auctoritas senatus* has both a general meaning (as here) and the special meaning of a resolution of the senate which had been vetoed (e g. by a tribune) and was no longer binding on the community in consequence.

Campani: see § 1 note.

in haec uerba, 'in the following terms.'

rogauit: the regular word for introducing a *rogatio*.

Sabatini: the people living along the river Sabatus in the territory of the Hirpini, cf. *Atacinus*, living beside the river Atax, in Gallia Narbonensis.

§ 13. **quosque**: all others, not citizens of Capua, living there at the time.

§ 14. **iussit**: the regular word for the final decision of an assembly, as *censere* for the senate.

iuratus. The senate was sworn, apparently, only under special circumstances.

pars: in partitive apposition to *senatus*.

qui adsient—*eorum qui adsint*, after *maxima pars*, 'the majority of those present': *sient* is from *sicm*, parallel to *εἶν*, the archaic form of *sim*.

CHAPTER XXXIV

§ 1. **ex**, 'in accordance with': cf. *ex sententia*, *ex auctoritate*.

consultus: sc. *a consulibus*: Marcellus would act in this case, though not in the former.

uenire: the infin. depends on some such word as *miserunt* implied in the preceding.

§ 2. in *familias singulas*, 'family by family': as the *familia* was a subdivision of the *gens*, this regulation would strictly apply only to the aristocracy, as the lower orders had no *gentes*.

operae pretium, 'it would not be worth while': for the use of the pres. indic. cf. *quantus numerus fuerit piget scribere*, c. 49. 1.

§ 3. *aliorum*, 'some,' i. e. of the members of the *familiae*: the recital of their fate goes on down to the end of § 5.

extra, 'with the exception of,' = *praeter*, which is used further on.

enupsissent, 'married into other communities': a woman by marriage became a member of her husband's *gens*, losing all right to share in the family sacrifices of her own people: consequently she lost the liability to their punishments.

§ 4. *aliorum*, 'in the case of others they took the amount of their property into account in deciding whether to confiscate their goods or not': *census*, their property as rated by the censors, to whom they, as *cives Romani*, had to declare their incomes.

§ 5. *captiva* = *capta*, as in c. 51. 2.

uirile secus, 'of the male sex'; acc. of description found only with *secus* and *genus*, Roby, § 1104.

containerentur, 'attached to the soil.'

§ 6. *extraquam* (= *praeterquam*): only used in legal phraseology to express an *exceptio*. Cic. *ad Att.* vi. 1. 15 (Boot).

§ 7. *ita . . . ut*, 'with the reservation that': cf. *ita . . . si*, c. 24. 12.

Latini nominis: this prohibition involved not only deprivation of full Roman citizenship, but also deprivation of the rights of citizenship possessed by *Latini* in their several communities.

dum, 'until the closing of the gates' and, therefore, during the siege.

intra, 'a date for their departure being fixed.'

locus: note the asyndeton, common in legal documents.

contingeret: consecutive subj. 'across the Tiber, but without bordering on it'—an additional hardship.

§ 8. *defecisset*: consecutive subj.: 'any Campanian town that had revolted': *Campana* here is used in its wider sense, in § 7 it = 'the city and territory of Capua.'

cis . . . Romam uersus: note the tautology, characteristic of legal phraseology: *cis* here and below, *cis Fulturum*, is used from the standpoint of Rome.

§ 9. *ne*: 'provided that they did not': cf. § 7 *ita ut nemo . . . ne quis eorum*; here *ita* may be supplied with *emouendos*.

§ 10. *ne pararent*, 'were not to acquire,' sc. *quicquam*, a prohibition-clause: for *parare* cf. xli. 6. 10 *argento parata mancipia*, iii. 34. 10. [Juv. iii. 224 aut Fabratiae domus aut Frusinone paratur: Mart. i. 66. 4. T.W.D.]

dum ne: c. 1. 8 n.

§ 11. **corpora** : sc. *senatorum*, 'their persons.'

placuerat : the indic. shows that this clause is not part of the decree, but an explanatory addition of Livy's, 'for it had been decided to sell them.'

§ 12. **signa** : note the Grecism by which *signa* which ought to be in the dependent interrogative clause is made the object of *reiecerunt*. We should have expected *reiecerunt . . . quæ signorum sacra . . . essent*. Cf. οἶδ' αὖ σέ τις εἶ for οἶδα τίς εἶ σὺ.

dicerentur : i. e. by the captors.

essent : subj. of dependent question after *reiecerunt* : 'they referred it to the college of pontiffs to decide which.'

collegium : a collective noun, used of a number of *collegae*, 'associates,' when looked at in a corporate capacity, e. g. *collegium tribunorum, pontificum, artificum*.

§ 13. **execrabilem**. 'terrible' : no notion of blame is attached to the word here : cf. ix. 26. 4, where Livy is speaking of the justifiable feelings of the Romans, *odium quod execrabile in his captos erat*.

CHAPTER XXXV

§ 1. **scripto** : for the more usual *conscripto* : we have the converse *conscribere* for *scribere* in c. 12. 11.

§ 2. **rem**, 'for this purpose' : for *in* cf. *in fidem* c. 24. 2.

ex qua : the antecedent is *pecunie*, following the relative clause, as often.

stipendiumque, 'or draw their pay' : the *remiges*, though slaves, received *stipendium*, xxiv. 11. 7.

tempestate, 'time,' according to Cic. *de Or.* 3 § 153 a poetical use of the word. Livy and Sallust use it frequently in this sense.

publico : i. e. *aerario*, as in § 10.

§ 3. **ex**, 'in proportion to,' usually *pro* : cf. the use of *ex* in c. 34. 1.

censu ordinibusque : hendiadys, 'their rateable property according to their class' : the *ordines* (cf. i. 42. 4) are the classes of the Servian constitution, in which a man's class depended on his *census*.

antea : in 214 on the outbreak of the war in Sicily (xxiv. 11. 7 sqq.).

§ 4. **materia**, 'the material for' : *materia*, like the Gr. ὕλη, originally meant 'wood,' 'timber' (as in c. 9. 4), then 'material' of any kind.

secundum, 'immediately after' : the adv. acc. sing. neut. of *secundus* 'following' from the root seen in *sequor* (Lindsay, *Hist. Lat. Gr.* 134).

perdendam : cf. c. 3. 10 n.

sumpsisse : *Oratio Obliqua* depending upon a verb to be supplied from *fremitus* and *indignatio*.

§ 5. **tributo**: an extraordinary property tax, levied on the property of Roman citizens during war. It was not necessarily an annual tax, but had apparently been so since the beginning of the war. Sometimes when the state had sufficient funds the amount paid as *tributum* was refunded (xxxiii. 42. 3). See Greenidge, *Rom. Publ. Life*, 137.

exhaustos, 'drained,' agreeing with *se* understood as subject to *habere*.
uastam = *uastatam* 'c. 38. 3 'wasted'; cf. Sall. *Or. Lep.* § 17 *uastam urbem fuga et caedibus*; for *nudam* cf. c. 30. 10 *nudo solo*.

tecta and **seruos** are the objects, *hostes* and *rem publicam* the subjects, of the infinitives.

militiam: as after Cannae for the first time (xxii. 57. 11).

emendo: abl. of instrument, 'by buying them for a small sum': *aere* here = 'money' in general, as in the phrase *aes alienum*, not as in the next sentence.

remiges, 'as rowers,' predicative answering to *ad militiam*: so *parvo aere emendo* corresponds to *imperando*.

§ 6. **uenderent**: note the change of sequence: *dent . . . habcant . . . uenderent . . . saeuirent . . . redimantur*.

saeuirent, 'wreak their vengeance on their persons,' i. e. by taking them as *remiges* in default of slaves: the subj. represents an imperative.

redimantur, 'they had not even the wherewithal to redeem themselves left to them': if they could not supply *remiges* they would have to serve in person, and would then have to be redeemed, either by themselves or others, before they could recover freedom.

§ 7. **in**: note the zeugma, '*in* the forum and *under* the eyes of the consuls': for *in oculis* cf. c. 12. 12 and *ex oculis* in c. 19. 7.

turba: best taken not as subject but with *circumfusi*, 'pouring round them in a mob.'

§ 8. **castigando**: see c. 21. 17; for *castigare* in the sense of 'reprimand' (a common use) cf. xxvii. 34. 14; xxviii. 26. 3.

dare, 'offer,' like the Gk. *διδόται*.

ipsi: i. e. *consules*.

expediendam, 'solving the difficulty.'

§ 9. **senatum**, 'a meeting of the senate'; cf. the use in c. 33. 1.

ubi, 'after giving many reasons to justify the defiant attitude of the people.'

ut: explanatory clause after *eo*: 'they wound up their speech by saying.'

seu . . . seu, 'fair or unfair, whichever it was'; cf. c. 3. 1.

§ 10. **paraturos** represents *parabimus* of the Oratio Recta: a question asked in the first or third person usually (though not invariably) goes into the infinitive in Oratio Obliqua: so *posse* below for *potes*.

naualis socios here = *remiges*, who were generally slaves, whereas the *socii nauales* were generally furnished by the allies.

esse represents *sunt*, 'are to be': for this use of the present cf. *dicti* in c. 7. 1 and see Roby, § 1461.

CHAPTER XXXVI

§ 1. **consilium**, 'the assembly'; i.e. *senatus*: for this use of *consilium* cf. *consilium publicum* in c. 16. 10: the senate was originally the 'advising body' of the kings, and afterwards (theoretically at least) of the consuls.

prope torpor quidam, 'a sort of paralysis': *prope* and *quidam* qualify the metaphor; cf. c. 26. 8 n.: for the metaphor cf. Sall. *Or. Maeri*, § 26 *occupavit necis quae nos torpedit*; ix. 2. 10 *velut torpor quidam insolitas membra tenet*: so καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν καὶ τὸ σῶμα νερκῶ Plat. *Meno* 80 A.

hominum, 'the members'; the meaning is determined by *consilium* above: similarly in c. 2. 1.

§ 2. **senatui**: dative depending upon *daces esse*, 'give the lead to': so *populo*.

§ 3. **uelis**: the second person sing. of an indefinite subject, 'one': cf. Roby, § 1544: so *statueris* and *habeas* following.

iuris: partitive genitive after *id*: trans. 'you regard as an obligation.'

pro uirili parte, 'more than an individual's share'; lit. 'more than in proportion to a man's share.'

principum: depending on *quemque*.

§ 4. **ornare**, 'fit out,' ἐπισκευάζειν: cf. the phrase *ornare provinciam* (xl. 36. 5), to provide all necessities for a provincial governor.

nobismet, 'ourselves'; *-met* is an intensive particle employed to strengthen possessive adjectives and personal pronouns.

§ 5. **signatum**, 'stamped,' i.e. 'coined': the word qualifies *aes* alone. In earlier times simple unstamped bars of copper (*aes rub.*) were used as money. It was not till after the time of the Decemvirs that a regular copper currency came into use. The *aes signatum* was a 'large oblong brick of bronze' often weighing more than a pound. Its weight was gradually reduced, until in 217 the standard was fixed at one-twelfth of a pound (Hill, *Greek and Rom. Coins*, p. 45.). If any of the heavier *aeses* were handed in at this time they would no doubt be recoined into the standard currency.

omne qualifies *aurum*, *argentum* and *aes*.

crastino die = *cras*.

in publicum = *in aerarium*; cf. *in publico*, c. 35. 2: as the *victoriæ* silver coinage comes to an end about 211 (Hill, *ut supr.*), probably all the silver of that denomination was recoined on this occasion.

ita ut : restrictive, 'though each may retain.'

anulos : sc. *singulos*, 'a ring apiece for himself, his wife and children.'

The gold ring (*anulus aureus*) could only be worn by those of Senatorial or equestrian rank. All other citizens wore the *anulus ferreus*.

filio, 'for each son.'

bullam. The *bullā aurea* was a small flat disc of gold worn as a charm round the necks of children of rank : in the case of plebeians it was made of leather. See Becker, *Gallus*, p. 173 sq. (E.T.).

singulas, 'one ounce apiece' for ornaments.

pondo : see c. 14. 8 n.

§ 6. **argenti** : partitive gen. depending on *equi ornamenta* and *libras* : 'Of their silver they might retain.' &c., understanding *relinquant* from the previous clause.

curuli sella : the ivory chair, the right to sit on which was confined to dictators, censors, consuls, praetors and curule aediles, holders of the so-called 'curule offices.'

ornamenta : the *phaleræ*, embossed silver discs fastened to the trappings of the horses of magistrates of high rank.

salinum, 'for a salt-cellar and for a dish for divine worship.' The silver salt-cellar was a most important piece of plate in a Roman household. Hor. *C.* ii. 16. 13 : the *patella* (dim. of *patini*) was used for offerings of food made to the *lares* : one was kept in every house solely for religious purposes ; cf. Cic. *Fin.* ii. 7. 22 (*ita non religiosi ut edint de patella*), Pers. iii. 25-6. [The *salinum* and *patella* were indispensable. Both were used in the worship of the household gods. cf. Arnobius ii. 67 *sacras facitis mensas salinorum appositu et simulacris deorum* ; Val. Max. iv. 4. 3 *ea . . . religionis causa abalienanda non putavit*, where the writer dwelling upon the simplicity of an early age says that C. Fabricius and Q. Aemilius Papus had some silver since they had a *salinum* and *patella* each. They held the *far pium* and *saliens mica* of Hor. *Odes* iii. 23. 20, which represented offerings of meat and drink. For *sal* in the latter sense cf. Festus, s.v. *Salinum*—*Salinum in mensa pro aquali solitum esse poni ait cum patella, quia nihil aliud sit sal quam aqua*. The passage from Valerius Maximus does not make it probable, as Weissenborn-Müller seem to suppose, that the *salina* and *patellæ* of the non-curule magistrates were not of silver. That passage indicates that the first silver possessed by any Roman usually took the form of a *salinum* and *patella* and these non-curule senators evidently had other silver. The meaning is that by allowing a pound of silver they allowed the retention of the *salinum* and *patella* which did not weigh more. These, in effect, were alone left to the non-curule senators, while the magistrates were allowed to retain their *equi ornamenta* as well. T. W. D.]

§ 7. **milia** : sc. *assium*.

§ 8. **ceterum** : adj. 'all the rest of.'

mensarios, 'Financial Commissioners,' extraordinary magistrates appointed to carry through any difficult financial measure: they are first mentioned in B. C. 353 (vii. 21. 5).

rei publicae : objective gen. after *certamen*, 'a rivalry in assisting the government': for *certamen* cf. c. 44. 11.

relicae : the use of this word seems to include the *ordo equester* among the *plebs*; but perhaps it is loosely used, as *alii* sometimes is, in the sense of 'besides.'

§ 9. **ingredimini** : sc. *uiam*.

et : καί, 'at the same time.'

tua . . . serues : see note on *uelis*, § 3.

§ 10. **animo**, 'enthusiasm,' *προθυμία*.

ultro, 'they spontaneously passed a vote of thanks'; cf. Virg. *Aen.* ii. 145 *uiam damus et miserescimus ultro*.

§ 11. **pro se** : cf. c. 6. 11 : the phrase seems always to imply eagerness: the idea being that each is acting on his own account and trying to surpass his neighbour.

ut . . . ut : the first *ut* is explanatory of *certamen*, the second *ut* is consecutive after *tanta*, 'such rivalry taking possession of their minds (each wishing his name to be inscribed first or among the first on the public records), that the commissioners could not take the money quickly enough or the clerks register it,' i.e. with a view to repayment by the state later on. This money was repaid in 204 xxix. 16. 1 sqq. .

§ 12. **ordinis** : sc. *consensum* : *plebs* is nominative to *est secuti* to be supplied.

coercitio : the right enjoyed by a Roman magistrate of enforcing his commands by summary punishment for disobedience.

remige = *remigibus*, as in c. 39. 8.

CHAPTER XXXVII

§ 1. **pariter** qualifies *immitis*, 'success and failure being evenly balanced.'

ancipiti, 'wavering between hope and fear': see note on c. 5. 11 : these two passages and xxx. 32. 5 *ancipis . . . spes at metus miscuit animes* seem to be the only examples of this phrase in Livy (v. Fügner, *Lex. Liv.* s.v. *anceps*).

§ 2. **Romanis**. Note the careful art shown in the composition: the statement of the Roman fortunes falls into four divisions *et in provinciis, et in Italia . . . et terrarum . . . transmarinae usque*: each is subdivided in turn, the first, by *hinc . . . hinc*, the second by *cum . . . tam*, in the third *urbis Romae obsessae* answers to *Capita capta*, and in the fourth we have the

main idea caught up again by *quodam rite pensatae* followed by the details: the expression of the contrast is so different in each case that the monotony almost inseparable from such a *resumé* is skilfully avoided. The statement of the Carthaginian side in §§ 6-8 is arranged in the same way: § 9 concludes the contrast between the fortunes of the two combatants as § 1 had introduced it.

§ 3. **praeter spem** goes with *retenta*, 'the unexpected retention of the citadel.'

damno: predicative dative: so *dolori* and *gaudio*.

§ 4. **terrorem**: see note on c. 25. 2.

§ 5. **uice**, 'were, so to speak, evenly balanced'; lit. 'by a sort of reciprocity': *quodam* is used as in c. 36. 1: cf. *ισορροπεῖν*; the Ciceronian phrase for this is *paribus examinatae ponderibus* (*Tusc. Disp.* i. 19. 43).

haud satis, 'not quite convenient,' i. e. 'highly inconvenient,' an example of *litotes*: see c. 40. 5.

velut despondente, 'as if fate were binding herself to give Rome the empire of the east,' *despondere* is the legal term for entering into a binding contract: for a different use of the word cf. c. 7. 8 n. For the personification of *fortuna* cf. *rapiente fato*, c. 29. 9: for *velut* see c. 2. 10 n.

§ 6. **aequabant**, 'had the capture of Tarentum to set against the loss of Capua'; *Capuae* is dative after *aequabant*.

ut . . . ita, 'while . . . yet': cf. c. 41. 9: so *quemadmodum . . . ita*, c. 12. 7.

§ 7. **exercitus**: referring to the *militēs sub vexillis* of c. 11. 5.

§ 8. **Hispaniae**. Livy is writing (as in c. 18. 11) from the standpoint of his own time when there were two provinces, *Hispania Citerior* and *Hispania Ulterior*: see note on c. 32. 8.

uenerant: sc. *Carthaginienses*, 'the nearer they had approached to feeling confident that the war was finished there.' &c.

tumultuario, 'chosen during a time of confusion,' i. e. 'irregular': cf. the phrase *tumultuarii milites*, 'hastily raised levies,' to check a *tumultus* or sudden inroad into Roman territory.

uanum et inritum, 'a mockery and a failure.'

indignationis: partitive genitive after *plus*.

praebebant: the subject is *Hispaniae*.

§ 9. **ita**, 'so fortune held the balances even: all was uncertainty to the view of the combatants, their hopes and their fears as yet unrealized, as though they were just at that moment entering on the struggle.'

integra: cf. the use of this word in c. 15. 9.

velut: for *velut si*, frequent in Livy.

CHAPTER XXXVIII

§ 1. **angebatur**. The subject is the clause beginning with *quod*.

auerat, 'had alienated the affections': for a different meaning of this phrase see c. 5. 9.

§ 2. **quos** = *et eos*: the construction is *et poterat neque eos amicos habere, nec . . . sociorum fidem relinquere*.

uelleret: subj. of a conditional clause: the apodosis is *non tenuit*, 'he would not have been able': for the indicative in the apodosis see Roby, § 1564.

carpere, 'break up': cf. *in multa periculis . . . carperent summam animi belli* (iii. 61. 13).

spei, 'free to form fresh expectations or a prey to fear,' according as they thought that they could make peace with the Romans, or that they had committed themselves too deeply to be pardoned, *quia maiora . . . deliquerant quam quibus ignosci posset*, like the people of Capua c. 12. 6.

fidem: abstract for concrete: 'the allies under his protection': for this sense of *fidem* see c. 16. 3.

§ 3. **auaritiā**. Polybius ix. 22. 8 says that avarice and cruelty were the two charges brought against Hannibal by his contemporaries. He does not think that the charges of cruelty were made out, and is inclined to think that his apparent cruelties were forced on him by necessity, but he regards the charge of avarice as proven.

inclinauit: intransitive here and in c. 40. 14, transitive in c. 1. 4: both uses are found in good writers.

§ 4. **foedum**: a Zeugma, 'disgraceful in its conception and disastrous in its results'; for the latter meaning cf. xxiv. 47. 15 *foedum incendium per duas noctes ac diem unum tenuit*, and for the phrase i. *praef.* § 10 *foedum ineptu, foedum exitu*.

indigna: cf. c. 2. 14 n.

animi, 'the affections,' as in § 1.

modo: with *neque*, 'and not only.'

quippe, 'for in fact': Cicero always employs *quippe* either as a particle of corroboration, 'certainly,' 'at all events,' or followed by *nam*, *qui*, and the subjunctive. For the use here cf. Sall. *Ing.* 85. 5 *indelegari . . . aequos bonosque fauere, quippe mea bene facta rei publicae procedunt*.

exemplum, 'more felt the force of the warning than the weight of the blow.'

§ 5. **consul**: i.e. Marcellus (§ 6: Laevinus' province was Sicily, c. 29. 6 sq.).

ostendisset: subj. of indefinite frequency, as *recipissent* in c. 11. 3.

deerat, 'fail to tamper with the allegiance of the towns.'

§ 6. **Salapiae**: on the coast of Apulia, north of the mouth of the Aufidus; it had revolted in 216.

The story of Dasius and Blattius is told at much greater length, though with some differences in detail, by Appian (*Hann.* 45 sq.). His account is clearer than Livy's.

ex tuto, 'in safety'; lit. 'from a safe place': cf. *ex equo*, 'on horse-back': *ex propinquo*, 'at close quarters,' c. 39. 12.

§ 7. **tum**, 'and even when he did,' referring to *appellabat*: cf. the Greek use of οὕτως, summing up a situation, e.g. Thuc. iii. 96 τὴν γὰρ γράμην εἶχε τὰλλα καταστρεψάμενος οὕτως . . . στρατεύσαι.

potentatus: objective genitive after *aemulor*: the word found in both Cicero and Caesar) is rare.

§ 8. **arcessito**: sc. *in ius*. According to Appian (l.c.) Blattius' trick was played, not while they were waiting for Hannibal to hear the case, but when both sides had been heard and Hannibal was considering his decision.

pro: see note on c. 6. 1.

mox cogniturus, 'just before going into Blattius' case.'

appellabat: cf. § 7: 'Blattius began to incite Dasius to betray the town.' This was a trick of Blattius, who foresaw that Dasius would accuse him on the spot, and that Hannibal not thinking it possible for any one to have the audacity to plot treason in his very presence, would think that Dasius had overreached himself in his eagerness to ruin his adversary and put the whole accusation down to jealousy.

§ 9. **enimvero**, 'then indeed as if his enemy were detected in the act, he calls out that he is being tempted to treason in Hannibal's very sight': for the force of *enimvero* cf. Appian (*Hann.* 45) ὁ δὲ καὶ τοῦτ' εὐθύς, ἐκβοήσας, ἐμήνυνεν.

manifesta: cf. the Gk. ὡς ἐπ' αὐτοφώρῳ.

sub oculis: so *in oculis*, c. 35. 7: for *secum agi* see c. 2. 6 *res cum tribunis acta*.

eis qui aderant: the officials, not the spectators who had been removed (§ 8).

res, 'the alleged attempt.'

§ 10. **esse**: depending on *cogitabant*, or a similar verb, to be supplied from *nisa est*.

liberius, 'he would have less check upon his invention.'

inde, 'after that' (cf. c. 21. 6): i.e. in consequence of the new idea Hannibal had conceived of the case.

§ 11. **docendo**: sc. *Dasium*: *ipsis* following represents *nobis* of the direct.

§ 12. **toto**: for the ablative without *in*, on the analogy of phrases like *tota Sicilia*, cf. xxvii. 8. 6 *ut nemo tota iuventute haberetur prior*.

usus equorum: abstract for concrete, 'nor were there horses at their disposal in the city.'

§ 13. **ad ultimum**, 'fighting to the last': not 'fell to the last man,' which would be *ad unum*; cf. *ad extremum*, c. 13. 8.

§ 14. **ala** : the Roman term for a squadron of auxiliary cavalry. Appian (*loc. cit.*) gives a different account of the capture of the city. According to him, Blattius having got Dasius out of the city by a trick, killed the Numidian garrison, and then falling upon Dasius when he returned, killed him and his followers and surrendered the place.

quo : the antecedent is *equitata* : it is quite a feature of Livy's style to put the relative clause before the antecedent : for another example see c. 35. 2.

CHAPTER XXXIX

§ 1. **M. Livius**. Polybius viii. 27. 7 calls him *Gaius* : Plutarch *Feb. Max.* 23. 4) agrees with Livy.

§ 2. **stabat**. 'had its headquarters' : a naval headquarters is called *statio navalis*.

§ 3. **factis** : an instrumental ablative after *illustris*, which is in turn qualified by *gloria*, an ablative of 'the thing in point of which the term is applied' Roby, § 1210 : 'a man of distinction in the army for his many acts of bravery' (*multis fortibus* = *multis et fortibus* ; cf. c. 41. 23).

§ 4. **maximae** : sc. *erant*.

Marcello : when in Sicily.

quinqueremes : ships of the line : the *triremes* and *biremes* were inferior in size, and in the numbers of their crew.

§ 5. **ipse**, 'on his own responsibility.'

debitas : sc. *navis* : governed by *exigendo*.

Velia : called by the Greeks Elea, and Paestum *Posidonia* were on the west coast of Lucania : the former was a *civitas foederata*, the latter a Latin colony.

ex foedere. 'in accordance with the terms of their treaty.' *foedus* applies strictly only to Velia : all *socii* were bound to furnish contingents to the Roman army or fleet : generally speaking the coast towns supplied contingents only to the fleet.

sicut refers to *viginti* : the reference is to § 2.

§ 6. **ab Regio** : see n. on c. 3. 11 a *Capua* : *arctis* below = *Tarento*.

Democrates : he and Nico (§ 15) escaped on this occasion to be killed in 209 at Tarentum (xxvii. 16. 3).

Sapriportem. The position of this place is unknown.

§ 7. **uells** : an ancient man of war generally stowed its sails in some place of safety before engaging in a seafight, depending upon its oars in the battle : cf. Xen. *Hellen.* ii. 1. 29. where Konon captures Lysander's sails and so checks the pursuit.

Romanus : i. e. *Romani*, singular for plural : cf. *inditem* in § 8. and c. 5. 14.

Sybarim: Sybaris proper had been destroyed in 510, and Thurii was founded on its site in 443. Livy is here perhaps (as Weissenborn-Müller suggest) copying from some Greek historian who employed the ancient name.

remigio = *remigius*, abstract for concrete: so in § 13 below.

pro, 'with an equipment proportioned to their several sizes,' some being *quinqueremes*, others *trirèmes* and smaller ships.

§ 8. **sub**: c. 16. 1 n.

armamenta, 'stowing the tackle,' *vela*, *rudentes*, *ancorae*, &c.

remigem = *remiges*: see *Romanus*, § 7.

§ 9. **alias**, 'at any other time': this is always the meaning of the word in the best writers.

animis, 'spirit.'

iustae, 'regular'; so *iusta acies* often e. g. c. 46. 7: cf. *iustum exilium* in c. 3. 12: the idea expressed by *iustus* is 'satisfying the *ius*' or requirements involved in each case.

quippe cum, 'since the fighting was to decide a matter of greater importance than their own safety': *ipsar* is fem. to agree with *classes*, though it is the *classarii* who are meant: for *quippe* see c. 38. 4.

§ 10. **centesimum**: the city had been captured in 272, only sixty-two years before: *prope* is hardly an adequate apology for the exaggeration.

spe . . . interclusuros: cf. xxv. 26. 2 *spe ad inopiam omnium rerum inclusos redacturum* where, as here, *se* is omitted before the infinitive.

ademissent: sc. *eis*, i. e. *hostibus*.

§ 11. **furto**: cf. *furto unius diei urbem . . . interceptam*, c. 51. 12.

§ 12. **rostris**, 'dashed at one another prow to prow': their eagerness to engage led them to despise the ordinary manœuvres of 'breaking the line,' &c., though the Romans were not adepts in naval tactics at any time.

inhiberent, 'backed water,' ἀνακροῦσθαι [see Cic. *ad Att.* xiii. 21. 3. and Wilkins, *de Orat.* i. 33. 153. T.W.D.].

quam nauem: in loose apposition to *hostem*, 'any ship any one had grappled with.'

indeptus: a poetical word, not found in prose before Livy.

manu: the boarding plank invented by Duilius in the First Punic War: these planks were called *corvi* according to Polybius i. 22. 3, who describes them carefully.

ita qualifies *ex propinquo*; cf. *ita in arto*, § 13: for the use of *ex* cf. *ex tuto*, c. 38. 6.

conlato pede, 'hand to hand.'

§ 13. **prorae**, 'the prows remained immovably locked together, while the sterns were being serewed round by the efforts of the opposing rowers,' *alieno*, lit. 'belonging to the other boat.' Latin writers use *alienus* to mean 'belonging to the other' (of two), as well as 'belonging

to another,' since the adjective from *alter* has been appropriated to another meaning; conversely *alterius* is used often for the genitive of *alius* which is seldom found. Each set of rowers kept on rowing to prevent their own boat being driven back ignominiously by their opponents, the result being that the sterns kept describing a circle round the fixed point of the locked prows: *circumagi* in c. 8. 3 = 'to move hither and thither': cf. xxviii. 30. 10 (of a ship caught in a current) *repente involta . . . circumgebatur*.

uanum intercideret, 'missed its mark and fell short,' the expression is redundant: if a weapon can be said *intercidere*, it must be *uanum*: *inter* means lit. between the point of departure and the mark aimed at.

frontibus, 'they pushed forward with opposing ranks'; for *frontibus* cf. v. 38. 2 *nec tamen aequari frontes poterant*.

peruiae, 'and the ships could be traversed from end to end by the combatants.'

§ 14. *agminum*, 'the opposing lines': for *agmen* of a line of ships cf. xxii. 19. 12 *lato agmini navium*.

§ 15. *Perconi*: cf. *Asinae*, c. 8. 2.

inuisus atque infensus, 'hated by and hating.'

§ 16. *praeceps . . . procidit*: note the tautology.

§ 17. *uictor Tarentinus* = *Tarentini uictores*; so *Romanus uictor* frequently. *summouisset*, 'had forced back'; cf. *summoti populo*, c. 38. 8 of people being 'moved on' by lictors, so *summoti hostes sunt*, c. 10. 9.

male: equivalent to *uir*, qualifying *tarentur*, 'were hard put to it to defend themselves.'

a *puppe* -- a *tergo*, 'in the rear,' lit. 'from the direction of the stern'; cf. *ab regione urbis*, c. 42. 6; *ab ea parte*, 44. 1.

§ 18. *hinc*: explained by *ubi . . . uidere*.

praetoriam, 'the flagship': for *praetor* see note on c. 24. 7.

abreptae, 'rowing hurriedly.'

§ 19. *onerariis*: sc. *navibus*, c. 41. 1.

ad, 'as the wind shifted, tacking about to one side or the other': for *ad* = 'to suit the winds' cf. c. 8. 3 *circumagi ad nutus comminationesque Hannibalis*; for *transferentes obliqua uela* cf. Virg. *Aen.* v. 16 *obliquatque sinus in uentum*: Luc. *Nauiq.* 9 *πρὸς ἀντίους τοὺς ἐτησίας πλαγιάζοντας*.

§ 20. *uagarentur*: the subject is the compound *quattuor milia hominum*.

§ 21. *intentus*, 'on the look out for'; cf. *intentam ad omnia occurere*, c. 44. 2.

armatorum, 'heavy armed troops,' not *uelites*.

§ 22. *foribus*, the plur. denotes that the door was 'made in two leaves like our folding doors,' Rich. *Dict.* s. v.

§ 23. *Romanis*: abl. abs., *uictoribus* being equivalent to *uincentibus*.

in oculis, 'in sight': Sappriortis was only a few miles away.

utrosque. 'both sides': *utroque* is used in the plur. when 'each' of the two referred to consists of several individuals.

The Tarentines were as much disappointed at not getting the corn they wanted as the Romans were: both were in equal need of it (c. xx. 9 sqq.).

CHAPTER XL

§ 1. **magna . . . circumacta.** Laevinus had not reached Rome until after his year of office had begun (c. 26. 4; 27. 10; there his time was taken up by the investigations into the cases of Syracuse and Capua, the levies and the equipment of the fleet. Both Marcellus and he left Rome together (c. 36. 12), so that the events of this chapter are contemporaneous with those of cc. 38 and 39.

ratus: *sc. est.*

inconditas, 'in all the confusion of an untried settlement': *pax* is the abl. of attendant circumstances.

§ 2. **relicum:** see note on c. 1. 6.

a: the preposition is used with *Carthaginiensium praesidia* because it = *Carthaginiensibus*.

§ 3. **Hanno.** Epicydes was joined with him in the command xxv. 40. 5; the reference in § 11 below does not seem to recognize this.

repositam: stronger than *positam*: 'they had entrusted all their hopes to Mutines.'

habebant: *sc. Carthaginienses.*

§ 4. **per totam Siciliam** qualifies *augas*: 'scouring Sicily from end to end.'

agebat, *sc. Mutines.* 'he would drive off booty,' the impft. denoting customary action.

quin: we should have expected *quominus*, as elsewhere always in Livy, after *non prohibere*; see *Madv.* § 375 (c), 1.

§ 5. **iam:** with *officiebat*, 'was already beginning to obscure.'

imperatoris: Hanno; there is no mention of Epicydes.

quoque: i.e. as well as having eclipsed the glory of all the subordinates.

uertit: intrans. as in c. 6. 16: the expression is somewhat illogical: 'his renown changed into hatred' means 'the renown he had gained caused Hanno's feelings towards him to be changed to hatred.'

propter auctorem, 'when he took into consideration whose doing they were'; for *auctorem* see c. 4. 10.

ne . . . satis, 'anything but'; for the *lilotes* cf. c. 37. 5.

§ 6. **praefecturam:** the position of *praefectus equitum*.

inter Numidas qualifies *auctoritatem*; see c. 41. 9.

§ 7. **invidia**: abl., *insuper* goes with *auxil*: 'by his jealousy he increased still further the regard in which he had been held for so long.'

indignitatem iniuriae. 'his resentment at the insult'; cf. i. 34. 5 *ferre indignitatem non potuit*: ix. 6. 2. &c. *indignitas* for *indignatio* is common in Livy: Boot (Cic. *Att.* x. 8. 3) denies that this use is Ciceronian.

§ 8. **fides**, 'assurances were given.'

ferentem: cf. c. 6. 3 n.

ad id ipsum—*ut in urbem acciperentur*: for the phrase cf. c. 24. 1.

§ 9. **agmine**, 'in column.'

in media: cf. *ad intima regni*, c. 28. 2: *ac* merely adds a closer specification of what is meant by *in media urbis*, not a new idea; cf. *carac et tergere*, c. 51. 4.

non aliud quam: οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἢ. 'merely': cf. *quid aliud . . . quam*, c. 41. 11.

§ 10. **atque**, 'and then,' introducing the result: *ille* is added, though the subject is not changed, for the sake of the apposition with *alia multitudo* below: ὥστε οὗτος μὲν . . . οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι.

procul. 'before he got close up,' the idea is repeated in *pria quam . . . ueniret*.

clamor, 'war-cry,' c. 2. 11; 5. 9.

ictum teli, 'within range of their missiles,' c. 4. 7.

§ 11. **auersam**, 'at the opposite side of the town,' i.e. away from the sea. **tot annos**. 'the object of so many years' warfare' with the Romans since 264 B.C.

traiecerunt: the plural is used—as in *caut*—because the subj. is really *Hanno et Epicydes*: for the change of number cf. Xen. *Hell.* i. 1. 35 Ἀλκιβιάδης ἐκ Σάρδεων μετὰ Μαντιθέου . . . ἵππων εὐπορήσαντες ναυτίος ἀπέδρασαν.

§ 12. **alia**. 'the rest, the main body, of the Carthaginians': *alia multitudo* = *alii, multitudo*.

ruerent in fugam, 'broke and ran.'

§ 13. **recepto**: it had been betrayed, not stormed (*captum*); cf. c. 32. 2.

capita: cf. c. 16. 5, where *principes* follows as an equivalent in § 6 as *principibus* in § 15 here.

omnem: contrary to the usual practice (described by Polybius x. 16) which was to give a large share of the booty to the soldiers; in the present condition of the finances this could not be done by Laevinus.

§ 14. **inclinauerunt**: intrans. as in c. 38. 3.

breui: sc. *tempore*.

ad quadraginta: sc. *urbis*, the compound phrase is subject to *deserant*; cf. c. 25. 11.

§ 15. **exsoluisset**. 'had discharged his debt of reward and punishment in full': for the metaphor cf. c. 31. 10 *fides mea exsoluta est*.

§ 16. *alimentis* : dative (not ablative as Riemann-Homolle take it : it is the dative of work contemplated and answers to *ut . . . leuaret* of the second part of the sentence. For the corn supplied by Sicily to Rome and Italy cf. Cic. *Verr.* ii. 3. § 11 *minimam nostram praeterit, indices, omnium utilitatem opportunitatemque provinciae Siciliae, quae ad commoda p. R. adiuncta sit, consistere in re frumentaria maxime: nam ceteris rebus adiuvamur ex illa provincia, hac vero alimur ac sustinemur.* Each town in Sicily had to supply (unless specially exempt a certain quantity of grain as tribute in kind, and also a fixed quantity at current prices.

saepe : cf. *horreum . . . quondam populi Romani*, c. 32. 3.

annonam, 'cheaper grain' ; cf. *annona . . . laxauerat*, in c. 20. 11. For the opposite metaphor cf. *annona est gravis*. Plaut. *Stich.* 635.

Agathyrna : on north coast of Sicily.

inconditam, 'turbulent' ; cf. the use in § 1.

§ 17. *conlunione*, 'the scum of society' ; cf. iv. 2. 5 where Canuleius is said *conlunionem gentium auferre*, 'to be bringing about the wholesale degradation of society,' by proposing intermarriage between the orders ; so xxviii. 12. 3 *exercitu . . . mixto ex conlunione omnium gentium.*

exules : subdivided into *obuerati*, 'debtors,' and *capitalia ausi* : the clause *cum . . . uixerant* qualifies *obuerati* and *ausi*.

legibus, 'under a settled constitution,' contrasted with the *incondita multitudo* of § 16.

fortuna similis : i. e. *exilium*.

§ 18. *neque . . . et* = *et non . . . et*, where *non* qualifies *satis tutum*, 'anything but safe' (see note on *satis laetae*, § 5).

materiam, 'fuel for a revolution,' c. 35. 4 n.

Reginis. According to Pol. ix. 27. 11. the people of Regium agreed to pay them and to allow them to keep all the booty they got from the Bruttians : *querentibus* agrees with *Reginis* and *latrocinis* is dative after *aduclam*. *Regium* not *Rhegium* is the correct spelling of this word ; see Fleckeisen, *Fünfzig Artikeln*, 58.

CHAPTER XLI

§ 1. *principio ueris* = *primo uere*, c. 25. 1.

edicto, 'proclamation' : every magistrate and provincial governor possessed the *ius edicendi*, the right of issuing proclamations (generally in writing) on points of law or administration.

Tarraconem . where he had spent the winter, c. 20. 4.

onerarias : sc. *navis*, c. 39. 19.

§ 2. *adloquendos*. Polybius (x. 6. 1-6) gives a short account of Scipio's speech. Livy has amplified and embellished the severely business-like remarks we find in Polybius : he has evidently tried to give some *ῥῆθες* to

the speech, by introducing the frequent references to the gods and the family glories of the Scipios, in accordance with the character he has attributed to Scipio in c. 19. 19. Quintilian x. 1. 101 gives high praise to the speeches interspersed through Livy's history: he says he is *at contionibus supra quam enarrari possit eloquens*.

§ 3. **nemo**: used as an adjective with the names of persons; Madvig, § 91 obs.

usus esset: note the subj. after *priusquam* without any notion of purpose, Roby, § 1674: so *viderem* below.

§ 4. **obligavit**, 'put me into your debt': a legal metaphor, an *obligatio* in Roman law being *iuris vinculum quo necessitate adstringimur ad faciendam rem secundum nostrae civitatis iura* (Instit. iii. tit. xiii).

ea pietate, 'you showed such loyalty': for *ea* see c. 27. 11 n.: cf. *ea sors*, § 9.

§ 5. **amissam**: like *integram* below, logically qualifies *provinciam*: *integram* is proleptic, 'you kept your hold of the province without losing ground.'

§ 6. **benignitate deum**: Livy brings out Scipio's piety or superstition well: cf. § 14, so *fato quodam* in § 9: *di prope ipsi* in § 17; *dii immortales*, § 18: cf. c. 45. 9 n.

ut: explanatory of *ad*: the idea of purpose leads to *ne* in the next clause.

pro ripa: c. 6. 1 n.

§ 7. **ultro**, 'assume the offensive by crossing': for *ultra* cf. c. 36. 10.

quam pro = *ἢ κατὰ*, 'than the memory . . . warrants': this phrase does not seem to occur in Latin prose before Livy.

aetate: *quattuor et viginti ferme annos natus*, c. 18. 7.

§ 8. **quippe cui**: the indicative after *quippe qui* is confined to poetry and Augustan and later prose writers: Cicero always employs the subj.; Caesar does not use *quippe qui* at all: we find both indic. and subj. (e. g. c. 43. 5) in Livy.

aliud . . . cumularetur: the same phrase occurs in § 17.

familiae, 'house'; see c. 27. 8; 34. 2.

§ 9. **ut . . . ita**, 'though . . . yet'; cf. c. 37. 6.

familiaris, 'though my orphaned home and my desolation crush my heart, yet my country's fortunes and my honour forbid me to abandon the struggle in despair': *paene* softens the exaggeration of the phrases *orbis* and *solitudo*. His brother and (probably) his mother were still alive.

publica qualifies *fortuna* only. Note the careful rhetorical balance of the clauses introduced by *at* and *ita*: *familiaris paene orbis*: *publica cum fortuna*; then *ac solitudo*: *tum virtus*; *frangit animum*: *desperare . . . prohibet*. At the same time monotony is avoided by interposing between the

opening noun and adjective in each clause a word of a different kind, and by making the final phrase of the last clause longer than its analogue.

§ 10. **nobis** : i. e. *Romanis* ; 'it has been the Roman lot by some strange (*quodam*) destiny.'

uicti, 'first conquered, then conquerors.'

Porsinam : Lars Porsina of Clusium tried to restore the Tarquins in 508 (ii. 9. 1 sqq.). [He actually took Rome, Tac. *Hist.* iii. 72 ; Plin. *N. H.* xxxiv. 14. 39. T.W.D.]

Gallos : the Senones, who sacked Rome after the battle of the Allia in 390 (v. 37. 4 sqq.).

Samnites : the reference is to the defeat of the Caudine Forks in 321 (ix. 2. 1 sqq.).

a, 'with' ; so in Gk. ἄρχεσθαι ἀπό τινος.

§ 11. **iam** goes closely with *hoc bello*, 'and now, to take the case of the present war, what is there I need mention ?'

adfui : he had fought at the Ticinus xxi. 46. 7 and Cannae (xxii. 53. 6).

afui : he refers to the Spanish campaigns principally.

maxime, 'more than any other single person' (πλείστον εἰς γε ὧν). He ignores his brother who was quite as much affected by the family bereavements as he was. Scipio's egotism comes out well in these slight touches ; cf. § 8 *nullius in animo quam meo*, § 18 *meo luctu*, § 24 *noscitatis in me patris patruisque similitudinem*.

aliud quam : c. 40. 9 n.

occisorum qualifies both *exercituum* and *consulum*, as does *Romanorum*. Note the arrangement of the words.

§ 12. **defectionem** : after Cannae : *fides sociorum quae ad eam diem firma steterat, tunc labare coepit, nulla profecto alia de re quam quod desperauerant de imperio* (xxii. 61. 10).

Sardinia revolted in 215, at the instigation of Hampsicora, a leading man in the island (xxiii. 32. 10).

terrorem : c. 25. 2 n.

inter : according to Livy's own account (c. 10. 3) Hannibal's camp was on the farther side of the Anio from Rome : *Hannibal ad Anienem fluvium . . . castra admovit*, and when he wanted to join battle, *transgressus Anienem in aciem omnis copias eduxit* (c. 11. 1. Polybius, however, says ἔλαθε διαβὰς τὸν Ἀννίωνα ποταμὸν καὶ συνεγγίσας ὥστε . . . ποιήσασθαι τὴν παρεμβολήν (ix. 5. 9).

prope in portis : cf. c. 10. 3 *ad portam Collinam usque ad Herculis templum est progressus*.

hac ruina, 'while all around was falling' : *ruina* in Cicero denotes the process, not the result, of falling : cf. Sall. *Cat.* 31. 9 *incendium meum ruina restinguam*, 'I shall put out my fire by pulling down the house.'

integra, 'unimpaired'; cf. the use of the word in c. 15. 9; 37. 9.

erexit: cf. xxvii. 40. 3 *prospera bella in Hispania prolapsam enim crevisse*.

§ 13. **Hasdrubali**: cf. xxiii. 28. 8 *rati si Hannibali . . . Hasdrubal dux atque Hispaniensis exercitus esset iunctus, illum finem Romani imperii fore*.

nullum, 'would be no more,' *nullum* is a strengthened *non*; cf. *nilil*, c. 13. 11 and Ov. *Her.* x. 10 *monui* | *Thesca prensurata semistipina manus*: | *nullas erat*.

auspicio: every holder of the *imperium* was obliged to take the auspices before engaging in any important public business, and, as a proper taking of the auspices was considered essential to success, a victory was said to be due to the auspices of the emperor.

hae . . . illas, 'success here in Spain supported failure there in Italy).'

§ 14. **in dies**: see c. 12. 9 n.

§ 15. **Agrigentum**. As the capture of Agrigentum was not effected till the late autumn (c. 40. 1), Scipio cannot have spoken of it to his soldiers early in the spring (c. 41. 1). Livy is probably following a source which put Scipio's operations in Spain a year later than he has done himself.

captum: agreeing with the nearer noun, though referring also to *Syracusae*.

recepta, 'recovered,' not used as in c. 32. 2: *est* at the end of the sentence does not go with *recepta* but - 'is now,' *recepta* being a participle.

§ 16. **Arpi**: it had revolted after Capua, but was betrayed to the Romans later on (xxiv. 45. 1 sqq.).

trepida fuga. There is nothing of this in Livy's own account or in Appian (*Hann.* 40: but Polybius represents Hannibal as *hurryng* to get back to Capua *ἡμείγεται σπεύδαν ἐπὶ τὸ προκείμενον*, ix. 7. 7 before Appian should return from Rome, whither he supposed he would hasten at the first news of the threatened assault. Scipio's words are probably not mere empty rhetoric, but represent the tradition followed in the source on which Livy was drawing.

Bruttii: an adj. as in c. 39. 18.

quam ut: for the phrase cf. 26. 7 n., and for the double acc. after *precatur* see Roby §§ 1094, 1125.

incolumi: sc. *sibi*.

§ 17. **uos . . . nunc**: Gr. *ὑμεῖς τότε μὲν . . . νῦν δέ*, cf. c. 2. 14 n.

parentibus: for *parentibus* of a father and uncle cf. Silius Ital. xiii. 394 of Scipio's grief at the news of the disaster in 212, *versatur species ante ora oculosque parentum*.

honore nominis, 'let them share together even the respect that name implies': contrast the sense of *titulus honoris*, c. 2. 1.

eosdem, 'after it all.'

§ 18. **quam**: some inferior MSS. fill the lacuna with *uestro transissent*,

but something more is wanted to connect the foregoing with the next sentence. Perhaps the word *acciderunt* stood at the beginning of a line in the archetype: if the next line but one began with a similar word, the line between might be omitted by the scribe: the words within brackets in the text are a suggestion of Prof. Dougan's.

iuberent: c. 33. 14 n.

fuere auctores, 'inspired'; see c. 13. 8.

auguriis auspiciisque: here practically identical, since the auspices were taken by means of augury.

uisus: cf. *per nocturnas uisa species*, c. 19. 4 and Silius Ital. xv. 181 *uisa uiro stare effigies ante ora parentis*.

§ 19. **maximus . . . uates**, 'the loftiest oracle I have yet found.' This is quite in accordance with the view of Scipio's character given by Polybius who insists (x. 5. 8; 9. 2) that Scipio's success was due to his own ἀρχίνοια and πρόνοια—a fact which Scipio himself, he says, admitted; cf. *ratio haud fallax* below.

praesagit: cf. Cic. *Div.* i. 65 *sagiri enim sentire acule est: ex quo sagae auis quia multum scire uolunt . . . is igitur qui ante sagit quam oblata res est dicitur praesagire, id est, futura ante scire*.

esse, 'is to be,' the use of the present denotes confident anticipation.

breui: sc. *tempore*.

Punicum nomen: cf. *nomini Romano*, c. 27. 12.

impleturum, 'swarm over sea and land.'

mens . . . ratio, 'feeling . . . logic.'

§ 20. **socii**, 'their allies'; cf. Polybius' account (ix. 11. 3. sq.) of the treatment of Indibilis from whom Hasdrubal, son of Gisco, demanded a large sum of money and on its being refused ψευδῇ διαβολὴν ἐπενέγκας ἡγάκασε τὸν Ἀρδοβάλην δοῦναι τὰς ἑαυτοῦ θυγατέρας εἰς ὀμηρείαν.

tres duces: Hasdrubal, son of Hamilcar, Hasdrubal son of Gisco and Mago (c. 20. 6).

discordantes: Livy has said nothing about this yet, but Polybius mentions it more than once (ix. 11. 1; x. 6. 3 *στασιάζοντας πρὸς ἀλλήλους*).

prope ut, 'almost to the extent of an actual rupture.'

alii: since only three individuals are in question *alii* *ab aliis* would be more precise.

§ 21. **ingruit**, 'is about to fall.'

nos: Scipio identifies himself with his hearers and his father and uncle.

quae = *ut quod* (sc. *diducere exercitus*): *quae* is fem. to agree with *causa*.

§ 22. **nomini**: the name of a person was supposed to have some mysterious connexion with the qualities and even the very existence of its owner (so ὄνομα in Greek), and the luck attending a name comprised all who bore it.

[**suboli**, of one person, belongs chiefly to poetry: Virg. *E.* iv. 49; cf. Cic. *Tusc.* ii. § 23. T.W.D.]

§ 23. **traducite**, 'lead the way across.'

multis fortibus: for *multis et fortibus*; cf. c. 39. 3.

peragratas, 'traversed from end to end,' an exaggerated reference to the initial successes of the Scipios.

§ 24. **noscitatis**: for *agnoscitis*, 'recognize': Riemann (*Études*, p. 18, n. 2) thinks that the employment of frequentative forms without a frequentative meaning was borrowed from popular Latin; cf. *regito* xxiv. 31. 3, *imperito* (xxi. 1. 3).

oris uultusque. The distinction between these words is well brought out in Cic. *de Or.* iii. 59. 221 *sed in ore sunt omnia*, 'all depends on the features' followed by *imago animi uultus*: transl. 'features and expression.'

§ 25. **ingeni**, 'disposition,' explained by *fidei uirtutisque*; cf. Silius Italicus' account of Scipio's reception by the army *pars lamina patris, pars credunt toruos patrum reuirescere uultus* (xv. 133).

reddam, 'reproduce'; this use of the word seems to be confined to poetry before Livy: cf. *hominum reddant facies*, Luer. vi. 812: so often *refere*.

CHAPTER XLII

§ 1. **animis**, 'courage'; cf. *ad accendendos militum animos*, c. 44. 8.

regionis eius: i. e. Tarraco and the friendly district to the N. of the Ebro.

copias: Livy's numbers hardly account for the whole of Scipio's army. The senate had sent 12,000 foot and 1,100 horse with Nero (c. 17. 1: these were reinforced by Silanus with 10,000 foot and 1,000 horse (c. 19. 10: Scipio himself raises 5,000 *socii* (c. 41. 2). This makes 27,000 foot (counting the *socii* as foot-soldiers) and 2,100 horse. But he had in addition the veteran army of the Scipios, for which Livy's numbers only allow 1,000 foot and 700 horse—a quite impossible figure. Polybius merely gives the number of the soldiers left with Silanus as 3,000 foot and 500 horse.

§ 2. **quibusdam** Polybius has nothing of this, and it can hardly be correct as Livy states it. There would be no room for such discussions when the Ebro was crossed—Scipio would not have gone across without knowing what he was going to do, especially if, as Polybius says, he had made all inquiries at Tarraco that he thought likely to be of service in the attempt on New Carthage.

diuersas: see c. 20. 6 for Livy's account of the winter-quarters of the Carthaginians. Polybius [x. 7. 5] gives a different version *Μάγωνα μὲν ἐπερθάνετο διατρίβειν ἐν τῷ Ἡρακλείῳ σιγηλῶν ἐν τοῖς Κορίσις καλουμένοις, Ἀσδρούβαν δὲ τὸν Γέσκενος περὶ Τάγαν ποταμοῦ τὸ στόμα κατὰ τὴν Λυσισιανήν, τὸν δ' ἕτερον Ἀσδρούβαν πολιορκεῖν τινὰ πόλιν ἐν τοῖς Καρπητανοῖς.*

proximum : sc. *exercitum*. Hasdrubal son of Hamilcar was according to c. 20. 6 nearest the Ebro at Saguntum. Livy does not say if he were still there, or, if he were, how Scipio managed to evade him.

eo facto, 'by doing so.'

nec negatives the following clause, while connecting it with the preceding and bringing it under the construction of *ne*, 'a risk of forcing them to combine without at the same time being able of himself to oppose their united armies.' See Roby, § 2246.

interim. Livy seems to regard the attack on New Carthage as a brilliant means of spending the time, Polybius (x. 8) as the most effective plan of crippling the enemy.

§ 3. **ibi** : note the emphatic repetition of *ibi*—ἐνταύτῃ is the technical term ; cf. § 8, below, and xxvii. 48. 10.

§ 4. **ad traiciendum** : for the gerund with *ad* see Roby, § 1115.

super, 'at the head of,' 'commanding.'

nescio an : adverbial, 'perhaps' ; Madv. § 453.

in Hispaniae ora, 'on the Mediterranean coast of Spain' ; the subj. to *adiacet* is *Hispania* understood : *nostrum mare* is the usual expression for the Mediterranean : Pomponius Mela (i. 1) takes it as including all the sea from the Straits of Gibraltar to the Palus Maeotis : probably it meant originally only the sea between Italy and Spain.

§ 5. **iretur** : represents *itur* of the direct, 'whither are we going.'

Laelium : the intimate friend of Scipio, whom he accompanied during the whole remainder of the war. Polybius (x. 3. 2) acknowledges his indebtedness to him for many details concerning Scipio.

ab terra, 'on the land side,' this use of *ab* is extremely frequent in the following paragraphs.

§ 6. **septimo**. The distance was over 300 miles. Polybius agrees with Livy in his statement of the time (x. 9. 7), but it seems impossible.

Carthaginem : sc. *novam*.

septemtrionem : the North. For the accuracy of this description see Appendix II. .

his : i. e. *castris*.

frons : the part facing the city. It was *natura tuta* because the only approach from the city was across the isthmus mentioned in § 9, which could easily be held by a small force.

§ 7. **etenim**, 'now,' introducing a narrative, or a number of details, Gk. καὶ γάρ.

ora : ablative of place without a preposition since qualified by *media*, Roby, § 1170.

maxime : for the use of *maxime* in geographical expressions cf. c. 20. 6 *maxime supra Castellouensem saltum* ; Caes. B. G. v. 13 *cuius angulus lateris maxime ad Germaniam spectat* ; xxviii. 17. 5.

Africo : the S.W. wind, the *Αἶψ* of Polybius.

retractus, 'receding about . . . from the entrance.'

§ 8. **ostio**. 'at the mouth,' ἐπὶ τοῦ στόματος αὐτοῦ Polybius. This is a misstatement. The island (Escombrera) is only a quarter of a mile long and lies so far from the mouth that it could not possibly afford any protection to the bay. (Cuntz, *Polybius und sein Werk*, p. 13).

objecta, 'closing it on the side of the sea.'

Africo : sc. *ab* : the island lies not SW. but SSE. of the mouth of the bay (Cuntz, *ut supra*).

paeninsula : the χερσονήσιζον ὄρος of Polybius.

is ipse : referring to *paeninsula*, but agreeing in gender with *tamulus*, 'being itself the hill on which the city is built.'

ab occasu, 'on the west it is bounded by a lake which extends round for some distance to the north, varying in depth as the tide rises and falls.' Livy does not state clearly, as Polybius does, that the lake was connected with the sea by an artificial passage (x. 10. 12).

§ 9. **iugum**, 'a tongue of land.'

patens, 'wide.'

unde = *ab urbe*, 'on the side facing the city.'

cum, 'though it would have cost little effort to build a wall.'

obiecit, 'protect the camp by a rampart' : cf. *obiecta* in § 8.

subeunti : agreeing with an indefinite noun (e.g. *homini* understood : cf. *incipienti*, c. 24. 11).

CHAPTER XLIII

§ 1. **cetera**. 'after finishing all the fortifications he had to construct, he mustered the ships in the harbour' : Weissenborn-Müller say the meaning is obscure : but *cetera* does not mean 'the other fortifications' in contrast to those already detailed in c. 42. 6 and 10, but contrasts the fortifications with the ships (*naves etiam* : *cetera quae municiada erant* being thus merely the *duplex aulium* which he constructed first. For this use of *cetera* cf. the common Greek construction with ἄλλος.

ostentans. 'threatening a blockade by sea as well' : he meant to employ *oppugnatio* (see c. 44. 1) not *obsidio* against the city, but the garrison would not know this.

praefectos. 'the commanders' ; the admiral was called *praefectus classis*, c. 48. 7.

uigilias nocturnas : note the redundancy : *uigilia* in itself refers to the night ; so ix. 24. 5 *diurnae stationes ac nocturnae uigiliae*.

intentis, 'on the alert.'

omnia. 'that an enemy at the opening of a siege leaves no place untried at any point.' depending on verb of saying implied in *monuisset*.

§ 2. **quod**: explanatory of *consili*, 'his plan of having chosen to open the campaign by an assault on a town.'

potiundae: sc. *urbis*.

faceret, 'inspire a hope.'

contione: so in c. 41. 2. As a Roman army was originally composed of citizens and the general was a magistrate, the same expression is used of a meeting of civilians addressed by a civil magistrate and of an assembly of soldiers addressed by their commander.

§ 3. **exactam habet**, 'has formed a clear idea of the work immediately in hand but not of the ultimate advantages it offers'; *exigere rationem* is a book-keeping term, 'to go thoroughly into one's accounts': *magis quam* is like the Greek *μᾶλλον ἢ* which often negatives the following clause rather than institutes a comparison between it and the preceding.

in una urbe: sc. *captiunda*, 'by the capture of one city'; cf. *in una parce duobus*, Ov. *Am.* ii. 13. 15.

ceperitis: fut. perf. of 'a predicted result' (Roby, § 1485), 'you will find that you have captured': so *dempserimus* in § 7 below.

§ 4. **hic**: for the repeated *hic* at the beginning of this and the following sentences cf. *ibi* repeated in c. 42. 3; the usage (which is rhetorical) is more in place here.

populorumque: for *-que* added to the last word in an enumeration see Madvig, § 434, obs. 1.

simul = *simul ac*, 'as soon as.'

tradent, 'will bring over into your hands,' not 'will hand over,' as the *obsides* had no authority: their relatives would side with the Romans once they got possession of their friends.

§ 5. **et quae**. When a relative in the nom. or acc. follows a relative in some other case referring to the same antecedent, it may be omitted. e.g. ix. 1. 9 *quorum sacrificium non . . . bona sequentia domini deditionem exsant, placari nequeant . . .* Madv. § 323 a.

animos here = 'affections': contrast the use in c. 30. 7.

§ 6. **tormenta**, 'engines of war,' *catapultae*, *ballistae*, &c.

qui: agreeing in gender with the nearest antecedent; *qui captus* would have been more logical, 'the capture of which will enrich you and impoverish the enemy.'

§ 7. **urbe** is rather out of place: since *cum pulcherrima opulentissimaque* and *tum . . . portu* both qualify *urbe*, we should have expected it before *cum*.

suppeditentur, 'can be supplied'—potential subj., Roby, § 1540.

§ 8. **haec**: for *haec*, *hoc*, *huc*, *hinc* see notes to § 4 and c. 41. 3.

armamentarium, 'arsenal,' a place for keeping *armamenta* c. 39. 8. 'ships' tackle.'

statio: cf. n. on *stabat*, c. 39. 2: *statio* lit. = 'anchorage,' *statio tutissima nautis*, Virg. *Georg.* iv. 421.

hinc. 'from this point Africa can threaten the whole of Spain,' since it was the nearest harbour to Africa it would naturally be the landing place for Carthaginian armies.

The conclusion of Scipio's speech has been lost : it is thus summarized by Polybius x. 11. 6' λοιπὸν χρυσοῦς στεφάνους ἐπηγγείλατο τοῖς πρώτοις ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος ἀναβᾶσι καὶ τὰς εἰθισμένας δωρεὰς τοῖς ἐπιφανῶς ἀνδραγαθήσασιν τὸ δὲ τελευταῖον ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἔφη τὴν ἐπιβολὴν αὐτῷ ταύτην ὑποδεδειχέναι τὸν Ποσειδῶνα παραστάντα κατὰ τὸν ὕπνον καὶ φάναι συνεργήσειν ἐπιφανῶς κατ' αὐτὸν τὸν τῆς πράξεως καιρὸν οὕτως ὥστε παντὶ τῷ στρατοπέδῳ τὴν ἐξ αὐτοῦ χρεῖαν ἐναργῆ γενέσθαι.

CHAPTER XLIV

armauerat. The subject, which has been lost along with an introductory sentence, is *Mago*.

oppugnatio, 'the attack'; cf. *obsidionem ostentans*, c. 43. 1.

et ipse, 'on his part too.'

§ 2. **arcem**: to the W. The *Βασιλεια* stood here, constructed at great expense by Hasdrubal (Pol. x. 10. 9).

tumulo: this was, according to Polybius x. 10. 8, the largest hill of all: it had a temple of Asklepios on the summit.

multitudinem aliam: i.e. *oppidanos*; see c. 40. 12 n.

quo: for the repetition cf. c. 42. 3; 43. 4.

uocasset: for *uocaverit* of the direct.

ad omnia qualifies *intendam*: *conarere* goes with *quo* . . . *uocasset* *res*.

§ 3. **ferente**, *φερούση*, cf. c. 6. 2.

parumper, 'for a short time,' lit. 'through a little' (*par-um per* = *par-um-per*, *parum* being a by-form of *paruum*: cf. *sem-per*, *paucis-per*, &c.).

subsidiis, 'nearer for the despatch of reinforcements,' dative of work contemplated, chiefly used in gerundival expressions, Roby, § 1156.

§ 4. **cecinnisset**: the subject is perhaps *dux* to be supplied from *dux*, as Weissenborn-Müller take it; but it is possible that Livy is imitating the Gk. ἐσάλπιγγε, used with an indefinite subject (e.g. ὁ σάλπιγγιτής); cf. *classicum apud eos cecinit*, xxviii. 27. 15. Polybius says nothing of the retreat being sounded: his account seems to imply that the garrison got inside before the Romans could come up.

§ 5. **non . . . maior quam**: the force of this construction with a negative and comparative, common both in Greek and Latin, is best given by inversion in English: 'the confusion throughout the whole city was quite as serious as that in the battle.'

tota. The preposition *in* may be omitted when the noun is qualified by *totus* or *medius*, Roby, § 1170.

stationes, 'posts.'

qua . . . proximum, 'by the nearest point of descent': *cuique* is

attracted, as often, into the relative clause, and *desibuisse* is plural through the plural idea contained in *quisque*: for the attraction of *quisque* into the relative clause cf. *qua pote quisque, in ea contrahat arte diem*, Prop. ii. 1. 46.

§ 6. **quod**: anticipating the real object of *animadvertit*, i. e. *multis partibus . . . esse*.

tumulum . . . uocant. Polybius has no mention of this hill. Livy, perhaps, owes his information about it to Claudius Quadrigarius. See the Introduction.

ad . . . urbem: cf. c. 43. 3.

§ 7. **uis**, 'numbers of weapons of all kinds'; *omnis generis* is descriptive genitive after *uis*, cf. c. 45. 1; 47. 7.

succedit . . . imperat: note the asyndeton.

§ 8. **quodque**: the *que* couples *imperat* and *adest*: *quod* = *id quod*, and refers to the clause *testis . . . adest*.

animos, 'courage'; cf. 43. 5 n.

atque: for *atque* coupling two contrasted words, where English has 'or,' cf. *testis meriti atque immeriti triumphū*, c. 21. 4; Sen. *de Tranq.* 5. 4 *singula propter quae laeti ac tristes sumus*; so also *-que*, i. 25. 3 *ne his nec illis periculum suum, publicum imperium servitiumque obversatur animo*; xxvii. 45. 5 *parva momenta in spem metumque impellere animos*.

§ 9. **in**: a case of zeugma; *in* with *uulnera* denotes result expected: *in* with *tela* = 'towards.'

illos: note the emphatic force of the pronoun 'men like that,' with a reference to *in uulnera ac tela ruunt*.

certatim, 'each trying to be first,' = *pro se quisque*.

§ 10. **ab nauibus**: *ab* is used as in § 2 *ab ea parte*.

inde, 'from that quarter,' = *a nauibus*; cf. *unde*, c. 42. 9.

adhiberi: a case of zeugma: *adhiberi* can be used with *uis*, but some word like *excitari* must be supplied with *tumultus*.

§ 11. **adplicant**: sc. *navis*, 'bring alongside'; the subject is to be supplied from *nauibus*, 'the crews.'

exponunt, 'put ashore.'

qua . . . est: see note to § 5.

euadere: cf. c. 45. 3 and 9, 'make their way.'

certamine, 'rivalry'; cf. *certatim* in § 9.

CHAPTER XLV

§ 1. **repleuerat**, 'had manned the walls again,' after they had been deserted (c. 44. 5).

Poenus: sc. *imperator*, i. e. Mago.

suppeditabat: intransitive, as often, 'there were large quantities of arms at their disposal.'

§ 2. **aeque quam**, 'so much as,' not found in prose before Livy; Cicero has always *aeque ac*.

sese: referring to the *moenia*, which are practically personified: the sentence is contracted for *sed neque viri . . . aliud <moenia defendebant> aequè quam moenia . . .* i.e. 'neither men . . . were such a defence to the walls as the walls were to themselves.'

rarae: emphatic by position, 'only here and there could ladders be got level with the top of the walls.'

aequari for *adequari*: cf. Caes. B. G. ii. 32 *muri aggerisque altitudinem acerui armorum adaequarent*.

quo . . . erant, 'and the longer they were, the less weight could they support' [the plural *quaeque* is used as Livy thinks of the ladders in sets, e.g. the twenty foot ladders were too short and the thirty foot ladders too weak. T.W.D.].

§ 3. **summus quisque**, 'the man first up'; v. note on *primo quaeque*, c. 2. 5.

enadere, 'get clear of the ladder'; cf. § 9: the verb is used of climbing a hill in xxvii. 18. 15: of getting out of the Caudine forks in ix. 2. 8.

stantibus: in contrast to *frangebantur* above: 'though the ladders held out.'

caliginem, 'mist'; cf. Plaut. *Id. Glor.* 495 *maie domum experiet mi ob oculos caliginem obstilisse*; *ἐσκότοῦντο* is Polybius' word (x. 13. 8).

§ 5. **quod** = *id quod*, referring to *signum . . . est*.

spem: note the double construction after *spem*, first the gen. *praesentis quietis*, then the accusative and infinitive *scatis . . . posse, opera . . . esse . . . datura*.

corona, 'besieging force,' as in x. 43. 1 *corona circum artem*, iv. 47. 5: the word may also mean 'a defending force' e.g. iv. 19. 8 *corona praemum vallum defendit*, iv. 27. 71, or 'a circle of spectators' (Ov. *Met.* xiii. 1 *vulgi stante corona*).

opera, 'siege works were difficult to construct (*difficilia*, sc. *facta*), and the construction of them would. . .'

imperatoribus: the three Carthaginian generals: dative after *datura*.

suis: referring to *obsessis*.

§ 6. **prior**: the whole attack up to this point is regarded as the first half of the assault: it falls in turn into two parts, first the attack on the gate, c. 44. 1-5, and second, the combined attack with ladders from the land and the ships (c. 44. 5-45. 5).

integros, 'unwounded,' contrasted with *vulneratis* as *recentis* with *defessis*.

§ 7. **piscatores**. Polybius (x. 8. 6 sqq.) lays stress on the careful inquiries Scipio made at Tarraco before beginning his journey: he

represents him as having had his whole plan of operations carefully thought out before he even started. These fishermen had pursued their calling on the spot *ἐνευργασμένων τοῖς τόποις*, and perhaps Scipio brought some of them with him as guides and pilots.

nunc . . . nunc : a poetical usage : Cicero employs *nunc* . . . *nunc* in this sense.

peruagatos, 'who found their way across the lake, sometimes in boats of shallow draught, sometimes, when these grounded, on foot.' *peruagatos* expresses the meandering route of the fishermen following the fish till they found themselves across the lake by accident : for *siderent* cf. Tac. *Ann.* ii. 6 *planæ carinis ut sine noxa siderent* : the subjunctive is one of indefinite frequency.

facilem . . . dari depends on *compertum habebat*.

pedibus : ablative = *uadis* : it is here used to qualify *transitum* like an adjective, 'foot-passage' ; cf. 16. 11 n.

eo, 'thither,' i. e. to the lake, or rather that part of the shore where the passage across the lake began. We may infer from Polybius x. 14. 8-11 that the crossing took place near the artificial canal connecting the lake with the sea, and therefore well in the rear of the garrison engaged with the remainder of the Romans.

§ 8. **medium**. Polybius says it was late in the afternoon when the ebb tide began, *ἐπὶ δέειλην ὀψίαν* (x. 8. 7).

ad id quod, 'in addition to the fact that the water was naturally *sua sponte*) carried along with the tide as it moved out to sea.'

aestu : the tidal action on this coast so far north of the straits would be practically unnoticeable, and quite subordinate to the effect produced by winds and variations in barometric pressure. Livy's mention of the north wind is a valuable addition to the account in Polybius, and probably proceeds from an eye-witness.

septemtrio. Polybius says nothing about this wind, but it is doubtful if the slight fall of the Mediterranean tide could produce on the lake the effect described.

ferebat : the tense implies that the wind blew regularly, 'used to drive the water, which had already begun to move, in the same direction as the tide.'

§ 9. **uertens**, 'This fact which Scipio had ascertained by careful and methodical inquiries, he chose to regard as a miracle and a special favour of the gods, who were turning the sea to give the Romans a passage, and carrying off the waters and uncovering a path never before trodden by the foot of mortals : he bade them take Neptune for their guide and press on right through the lake to the walls of the city.' If, as Polybius says, he had guides with him, it would be interesting to know how far all this imposed upon the soldiers. Polybius regards it all as a masterpiece,

and a fine example to generals of the way to utilize superstition for their own purposes.

One may compare the effect upon the retinue of Cardinal Pole (when he returned to England in 1554) of finding the water with them as they sailed up the Thames. Never having seen a tidal river before they thought that Providence had bidden the Thames flow backwards out of respect to a Prince of the Church (Froude, *Hist. of Eng.* vi. 272).

CHAPTER XLVI

§ 1. **ab terra**, 'on the land side': i. e. at the isthmus in front of the camp.

succedentibus, 'the attacking party,' mentioned in § 6.

quod: for *eo quod*, 'by the fact that': note the use of *sed* for *sed etiam* after *non tantum*; cf. c. 48. 3.

ancipites utrimque, 'a cross fire from both sides,' tautology; so in § 5 below; for *anceps* cf. *ancipiti pugna*, c. 5. 14. There must have been towers flanking the gates to expose an assailant to a cross fire; but they are not mentioned either by Polybius or Livy in describing the fortifications.

habebant: sc. *defensores*; note the change of subject.

infestiora, 'more open to attack'; for this passive use of *infestas* = *h. n. r. i. s. p. e. r. i. c. a. b. l. e.* cf. c. 24. 5, and Sall. *Iug.* 89 *omnis infesta serpentibus*.

subeuntibus: *dabantur incunabula*, 'as they moved up they found their flank. . .'

§ 2. **alia** = *altera*, 'the other side.'

emunitus: sc. *murus*, 'the wall had not been completely fortified': *opere* is used for the sake of the contrast with *ulla armatorum statio*.

ut ubi. Cicero would have used *quippe ubi* (so in c. 48. 11), 'considering that there they looked on themselves as sufficiently well protected by the nature of the ground and the marsh': *ut crederet praesidio loci* = *credere satis esse praesidii in loco*: for *ut* cf. *ut in re trepida*, c. 5. 7; for *foret* see note on c. 17. 5.

statio, 'pickets': *custodia* = 'the watch': the *statio* was properly a picket of cavalry or infantry, the *custodiae* bodies of *velites*, Ramsay, *Antiq.* p. 450.

intentis: cf. *intentam ad omnia*, c. 44. 2.

§ 3. **quanto maximo**: a mixture of two constructions: *tanto cursu quanto poterant*, and *maximo cursu quo poterant*: these first become *quanto c. pot.* and *quo maximo cursu p.* respectively, and are then combined into *quanto maximo c. pot.*

§ 4. **spectantiumque**: the *-que* does not couple *pugnantium* and *spectantium*, but joins *spectantium et hortantium* to *pugnantium*: so *et arcemque et praesidium* in § 9.

§ 5. **ab tergo** qualifies *captam*.

auersos : sc. *eos*, 'on their backs,' opposed to *aduersos*.

utrimque : see note on § 1.

§ 6. **intus forisque**, 'both from within and without'; the original meaning of *intus* is 'from within' (*ἐνδοθεν*, for the termination cf. *caelitus radicitus*, &c.), e.g. Plaut. *Amph.* 770 *intus poteram profecto foras*, but it is often used in the sense of 'inside': *foris* in classical Latin means both 'outside' (*extra*) and 'from the outside' (*extrinsecus*).

confectis, 'hacked to pieces': used of soldiers in c. 5. 13.

distractis, 'pulled aside to prevent their blocking the entrance.'

foribus : see note on c. 39. 22.

§ 7. **et muros**, 'the walls too,' as well as by the gate.

oppidanorum : probably not the *oppidani* of c. 44. 2 but the unarmed townspeople: the *armati* had escaped to the *tumulus* or to the *arc* § 8.

iusta : explained by *cum duribus*, *cum ordinibus* : cf. *iustae* classes, c. 39. 9.

media urbe : so *tota urbe* in § 10 : see c. 44. 5 n.

§ 8. **duobus** : explained by *alios . . . alios*.

uideret : the subject must be *Scipio*, not *acies*, on account of *mittit*, *ducit* below.

tumulum, arcem : see c. 44. 2.

partim : accusative of *pars* : never used by Cicero except as an adverb ; cf. the note on *partim . . . partim*, c. 21. 16.

mittit, ducit : sc. *Scipio*.

§ 9. **omnia . . . arcemque**, 'the whole town' : no special noun (e.g. *loca*) need be supplied: we have the same indefinite use in c. 41. 12; for -*que* et cf. *pugnantium spectantiumque et adhortantium* in § 4.

§ 10. **caedes**. What the capture of a town meant when the Romans were victors we see from the horrible description of Polybius x. 15. 5, *πολλάκις ἰδεῖν ἔστιν ἐν ταῖς τῶν Ῥωμαίων καταλήψεσι τῶν πόλεων οὐ μόνους τοὺς ἀνθρώπους πεφονευμένους, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς κύνας δεδιχοτομημένους καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ζῶων μέλη παρακεκομμένα* : cf. the description in ix. 14. 12 of the capture of a Samnite camp in 320 *nec ullum superfuisset animal ni consules receptui signum dedissent*, and that of Iliturgi in 206 *usque ad infantium caedem ira crudelis peruenit*, xxviii. 20. 6. Polybius says that the Romans did this *καταπλήξεως χάριν* : just as Cromwell in his despatch to Bradshaw, after coolly announcing that he had put the entire garrison of Drogheda to the sword, says, 'And truly I believe this bitterness will save much effusion of blood, through the goodness of God' (Carlyle's *Cromwell*, Letter civ); but the Romans do not seem to have used the name of their gods to cloak these barbarities.

tum : i. e. *cum arx dedita est*.

ingens, 'of which there was a vast amount of all kinds.'

CHAPTER XLVII

§ 1. **capitum**, 'persons,' so in c. 49. 2. The head being looked on as the seat of life, it was used as a synonym for the person just as we say 'souls' in English cf. Gk. κεφαλή. In Rome it was also used to denote the sum total of the rights belonging to an individual citizen, as in the phrase *capitis deminutio*.

uirile secus: adverbial accusative, Roby, § 1104; *secus* is an old neuter used only in this phrase and in *muliebre secus*.

inde = *ex eis*.

dimisit: ἀπέλυσε ἐπὶ τὰς ἰδίαις οἰκήταις (Polyb.), 'let go free.'

sua, 'their property': for *sua* referring to a noun other than the subject see Madv. § 490 b, who quotes *desiderat in domo domi suae mansit*, 'in his own house,' Cic. Cat. i. 13. 32.

relica: cf. *quos relicos fortuna . . . fecerat*, ix. 24. 13: sometimes the partitive gen. *relici* is used, especially after *relict*, e. g. *cum . . . relictis his fortuna relici fecerit*, vii. 35. 8.

§ 2. **opifices**, 'craftsmen,' slaves or freedmen. They do not seem to be included in the *libera capita* mentioned above. It is true that Polybius (x. 17. 6) reckons the total number of captives at 'little less than ten thousand,' and this might seem at first sight to make it necessary to include Livy's two thousand *opifices* among the ten thousand *libera capita*. But Polybius includes in his numbering women and children, whereas Livy makes the free males alone number about ten thousand; so that in any case Livy's numbers are in excess of those of Polybius, and it seems useless to attempt to argue from the numbers in one account to those in the other. Polybius says nothing about slaves.

publicos: δημόσιοι τῆς Πώμας (Polyb. loc. cit.); cf. *publica populi Romani facta*, c. 16. 8.

§ 3. **ceteram**, 'the rest of them,' i. e. those not included among the *civis Carthaginis* who were only part of the *libera capita* and the *opifices*: the following genitives are explanatory, 'namely the younger inhabitants and the able-bodied slaves.'

incolarum: cf. c. 16. 8. where the *incolae* and *libertini* are contrasted with the *opifices* and *uestibores*. These *incolae iuvenes* were probably the grown-up sons of the *civis* and any other freemen living at New Carthage who were not citizens. Polybius merely says ἐκ δὲ τῶν λοιπῶν αἰχμαλώτων ἐκλέξας τοὺς εὐρωστοτάτους καὶ τοὺς εἶδεσι καὶ ταῖς ἡλικίαις ἀκραιστοτάτους προσέμειξε τοῖς αὐτοῦ πληρώμασι (x. 17. 11).

in classem: *in* denotes the object aimed at; cf. such phrases as *dare se in fugam*, *dare hostem in conspectum* (iii. 69. 9).

ad supplementum: cf. *in supplementum*, c. 11. 5.

captiuis = *captis*: cf. *uastam* = *uastatam*, c. 35. 5.

§ 5. **apparatus**, 'warlike stores.'

catapultae: engines used principally for hurling spears and javelins, but also sometimes for masses of rock: the *ballistae* were employed for hurling rocks and stones. The smaller *catapultae* and *ballistae* were often carried from place to place on wagons, and were then called *carro-ballistae*. The *scorpiones* were of a similar nature, but could be managed by a single man. These engines were invented and first used by Dionysius of Syracuse (Diod. Sic. xiv. 42. See Rich. *Diet. of Ant.* s. v.; Hill. *Illustrations to School Classics*, p. 390 sq.

formae, 'pattern.'

§ 6. **arma** are defensive, and *tela* offensive weapons.

§ 7. **paterae**: shallow circular dishes, often used for pouring libations.

librae: nominative; cf. iv. 20. 4 *coronam auream libram pondi . . . in Capitolio . . . posuit*: *libra* is not, as a general rule, expressed except in the sense of one pound: see c. 14. 8.

infecti: not made into *ausa*; the opposite is *argentum factum*.

signati, 'coined'; cf. *aes signatum*, c. 36. 5.

§ 8. **quaestori**: cf. c. 14. 8 n. His name is not given by Polybius.

adpensa: this word refers specially to the *argentum infectum*: *adpensa* to the *argentum signatum*: the *paterae* and *ausa* were both weighed and counted.

modium. 'pecks'; the *modius* was the standard of dry measure, and was about $\frac{9}{16}$ of a peck.

§ 9. **suis**. 'their full freight': for *suis* cf. *si suum numerum naves haberent*, 'their full complement,' Cic. *Verr.* ii. 5. § 133.

linteis. 'consignments of linen': cf. *pollenti . . . Tarquinienenses intra in urbe*, xxviii. 45. 15.

sparto. 'Spanish broom,' for making tackle; cf. xxii. 20. 6 *his magno sparti ad rem nauticam congesta*; Varro, *de Re Rust.* i. 23. 6 *spartum unde neta, latus solas, lineas, regis, funis*. There is a sort of grass called *espart* still used for making nets and baskets in Spain.

materia. 'besides timber for ships'; cf. xxviii. 45. 21 *die quadragesimo quinto quam ex silvis detracta materia erat naves instructae*. The wood generally employed was fir; cf. *ibid.* § 18 *abietem in fabricandas naves*: for *alia* see c. 16. 6.

CHAPTER XLVIII

§ 2. **uno die**, 'with all the military operations of this one day': *uno die* qualifies some word like *confectis* to be supplied in agreement with *operibus*.

captiunda urbe: ablative of attendant circumstances, 'in capturing the city': *urbe* is to be supplied with *capta* below.

etiam, 'and that, too, on unfavourable ground.'

curare, 'refresh themselves'; cf. xxi. 54. 2 *non corpora curare tempus est*, Lucr. ii. 31 *non magnis opibus incunde corpora curant*.

§ 3. **laudes gratesque**: the regular religious formula: so also *grates agere atque habere*; the repetition is characteristic of prayers.

compotem, 'master of'; cf. *compos mentis*, c. 15. 13.

sed: for *sed etiam* after *non . . . solum*; see c. 46. 1.

eo = *ad eam*.

neque . . . et = *et hostibus nihil . . . et: neque . . . quicquam* is due to the tendency to bring the negative as far forward in the sentence as possible; the change of *et* to *neque* necessitates the change of *nihil* to *quicquam*.

superessent, 'while he and his men had more than enough of everything.'

§ 4. **deinde**, 'in the second place,' after *primum* above.

eruptio: the sally described in c. 44. 3.

tumulo: i. e. the *tumulus in orientem versus* of c. 46. 8: Livy has not mentioned the *castellum* before, nor does Polybius speak of it; see c. 44. 2 n.

§ 5. **praecipuum**, 'special distinction'; cf. ix. 15. 10 *hanc sibi in . . . consulum Papirique praecipuum id decus sit*.

muralis coronae: *corona quae datur ab imperatore qui primus in eam subit . . . idcirco quasi nostri pinnis decorata est* (Aul. Gell. v. 6). It was made of gold (Polyb. vi. 39. 5). It is often figured on the head of Cybele. Scipio had promised this crown in that part of his speech which is lost at the end of c. xliii.

§ 6. **profiteretur**, 'any one who thought he deserved the prize should give in his name': for *profiteri* cf. c. 27. 6.

quartae: as a general rule the first four legions were under the command of the consuls. The rule may have been departed from in this instance, or there may have been a separate numbering for the Spanish army. We find the survivors of Cannae forming the fifth and sixth legions in Sicily in 204 (xxix. 24. 13).

uterque: in partitive apposition to *ipsi*: the plural *erigia* is due to the influence of *contendebant*.

corporis, 'branch of the service'; cf. the use of *corpus* in c. 16. 9.

§ 7. **aderat**, 'supported the claims of': the word is frequently used in Cicero's speeches in the sense of 'appear in court in support of.'

§ 8. **cum . . . cum**: the double *cum* is unusual and a little awkward.

recuperatores: originally a mixed international tribunal of three or five members appointed to try lawsuits between a citizen and a foreigner. Since they dispensed with the ordinary forms of a Roman civil action their procedure was more expeditious than that of the ordinary courts, and under the later Republic lawsuits between citizens, where a speedy settlement was aimed at, often came before them. It was probably as

much on the ground of expedition that the case in the text was referred to *recuperatores* as because one of the claimants was a *socius*. See Greenidge, *Rom. Publ. Life*, p. 293 sq.

daturum: the word used to denote the action of the magistrate in naming the members of the tribunal. The participle in *-urum* is often used without *esse* for the future infinitive; Dr. Postgate has shown (*Classical Review*, v. 301) that *esse* was not originally used with this form of the verb.

cognita: *cognoscere* is the technical word for the action of the *iudex*, who, under the direction of the praetor, inquires into the facts of a case and pronounces sentence in accordance with the praetor's ruling on the point of law. The use of the word here denotes that the *recuperatores* were to inquire into the facts only; effect would be given to their decision by Scipio.

§ 9. **aduocatis**, 'supporters.' The word always means in Cicero a friend who lends his support or advice in a trial, never an 'advocate,' a meaning which does not appear till Imperial times. See Ramsay, *Rom. Ant.* p. 356.

de medio, 'as referee,' lit. 'from the neutral standpoint,' as contrasted with the *parti pris* of the others.

recuperatores with *considerere*, 'to sit as recuperatores': for *cognoscere causam* see note on *cognita* above.

§ 10. **eo**: answered by *quod*, not, as is usual, *quo*.

amoti, 'the weight of their great influence had been lost, not so much to the support of their side, as to the repression of excitement.' *dignitatis* qualifies both *aduocati* and *moderatores*.

consilio, 'the board': for *consilium* cf. c. 16. 10; 36. 1.

tribunal, 'the bench,' where Scipio was waiting to pronounce his sentence after he heard their decision.

§ 11. **modo ac modestia**, 'order or self-restraint': *modus* denotes the outward appearance produced by *modestia*, the virtue of moderation.

manus . . . conferant, 'come to blows': *manus conserere* is more frequently used in this sense.

exemplo, 'the proceedings were setting a notoriously bad precedent.'

quippe ubi: see c. 46. 2 n.

§ 12. **hinc . . . hinc**, 'on one side stood the legionaries, on the other the marines, ready to swear by every god in heaven at the bidding of their prejudices, instead of their consciences, and expose to the guilt of perjury not only their persons and lives, but the standards and eagles of the legions and their sacred honour as soldiers.' *uera esse* depends upon *iurare* and the subject of *esse* is to be supplied from *quae*: for *caput* see c. 47. 1: *sacramenti religionem* = 'the sanctity attaching to their military oath.' The use of *hinc . . . hinc* for *hinc . . . illinc* appears to be poetic.

caput : see n. on c. 47. 1 and cf. such phrases as *caput decurione* : see Juv. xiii. 84 with Mayor's note.

signa : the standards of the maniples : the *aquila* did not rank as the standard of the legion as a whole till the time of Marius, so that Livy's reference to the 'eagles' here is inaccurate. The standards were considered sacred and while in the camp were kept in a *sacrarium* close to the general's quarters Cie. *Cat.* i. 9. 24 ; Dio Cass. xl. 18. 1] [Tac. *Hist.* iii. 10 *conversus ad signa et bellorum deos* ; Ann. i. 39 *signa et aquilam amplectus religione sese tatabatur* (and Furneaux' note). T. W. D.].

§ 13. **de sententia**, 'in accordance with the opinion of' ; cf. *ex sententia*.

aduocavit : se. *mīlites*.

pariter = *simul*. There is nothing of this whole story in Polybius, and he would hardly have omitted it had he known it ; it would have served him as another instance of Scipio's ἀρχαίωτα, too characteristic to be omitted. But he would scarcely have represented Scipio as telling one lie to save the soldiers from the guilt of another.

§ 14. **corona** : the golden crown was conferred for any signal service ; cf. c. 21. 9.

ubus : probably to provide materials for a sacrifice and subsequent feast.

CHAPTER XLIX

§ 1. **ciuitatium** : for the form see Roby, § 445, and cf. *actatium*, c. 9. 13.

piget, 'it would be tedious' ; cf. c. 22. 6 n.

quippe cum : cf. c. 38. 4 n.

alibi, 'in some authorities' = *apud alios* : Polybius (x. 18. 3) says πλείους ὄντας τῶν τριακοσίων.

ferme, 'or thereabouts' : *ferme* is the superlative of *feri*.

alibi : probably Valerius, who always has the largest number : Livy is only giving the two extremes.

§ 2. **auctores** : v. c. 6. 9 n.

discrepant : generally used impersonally in Livy : e.g. *ne inter scriptores rerum discrepat solum*, xxxviii. 56. 5.

alius . . . alius : the former is the authority followed by Appian (*Ib.* 19) ; if the latter be Polybius, Livy is quoting him inaccurately as he says (x. 8. 4) μάχιμοι μὲν ἄνδρες . . . εἰς χιλίους οἱ τὴν ἄκραν τηροῦντες.

plus quam : without affecting the construction, as usual.

capitum : c. 47. 1 n.

alibi . . . alibi : with his love of variety in expression due to his rhetorical training Livy here begins with the smaller number after beginning with the larger in the sentence before : in § 1 where he used *alibi . . . alibi* before he also began with the smaller.

§ 3. *scripserim...sequar*, 'if my authority were Silenus I should have given the number as': the perf. denotes a single action already completed, the present an action still continuing; cf. Roby, §§ 1530, 1532, who quotes *quos, ni mea cura resistat, | iam flammae tulerint* (Virg. *Aen.* ii. 600): so also xxvii. 27. 12 *multos circa unam rem ambitus fecerim, si...omnia exequi uelim*. Blase in *Philologus* lxiii. 636 sq. says (overlooking the parallel in xxvii. 27. 12) that this is the only instance outside old Latin in which a Perf. Subj. is used with the meaning of a present in the apodosis of a conditional sentence: he explains the use of the perfect as due to a desire to obviate confusion with a future conditional, *scribam si sequar*.

Silenus: a Greek writer, a friend of Hannibal's, who had accompanied him during his campaigns and written an account of them. He is probably quoted by Livy from some Roman source in which his work had been used (Corn. Nep. *Hann.* 13; Cic. *Div.* i. 49).

Valerius: Valerius Antias a Roman annalist, more often quoted by Livy than any other authority. Livy follows him blindly in his earlier books, but finding out his exaggerations later on he has no words too hard to describe him, e.g. xxxiii. 10. 8 *si V. quis credat omnium rerum immodice numerum augenti*. His history reached as far as the time of Sulla (Teuffel, *Rom. Lit.* E. T. p. 227 sq.).

decem et tria: much less usual than *tredecim*: so *decem et octo* for *duodeviginti* in xxvii. 29. 8.

adeo, 'so wild are his exaggerations': for *modus* see c. 41. 11 n.

ne...quidem, 'nor is there any agreement, either, as to the names of the commanders.' For this use of *ne...quidem*—a stronger *neque*—cf. Madv. § 457.

§ 4. **plerique**: including Polybius.

§ 5. **Arinen**: Silius Italicus (xv. 232, 244) calls him *Aris*.

Antias Valerius: note the transposition of the *nomen* and *cognomen*: so *Crassus Licinius* for *Licinius Crassus* in xxvii. 6. 17.

§ 6. **redactae**, 'paid in,' sc. *ad quaestorem*; cf. *ingentique praeda est potitus; cuius pars maxima ad quaestorem redacta est*, v. 19. 8.

aliquis=*aliquibus* (dat.); cf. c. 15. 3: *aliquis* is here stronger than *quibus*, 'if I must agree at least with some of them.'

media, 'truth is most likely to be found between the extremes.'

§ 7. **ceterum**, 'be that as it may' (*δ' ὅν*), resuming after a parenthesis; so in c. 12. 1 after a similar digression in c. 11. 10—13.

uniuersos: stronger than *omnes*, 'one and all,' *ἅπαντας*.

bonum...habere: *παρεκάλεσε θαρρεῖν*, generally *bono animo esse*, 'be of good cheer'—a rather colloquial phrase frequent in Comedy.

iussit: sc. *Scipio*; cf. the similar omission in c. 46. 8.

§ 8. **fide**: *fide ac societate* answers to *tristi seruitio*, 'loyal friendship,' 'sullen subjection.'

§ 9. **quot . . . essent** : dependent question after *reconsuit*, 'reviewed the list of the captives to find out . . . ' *reconsuit* marks out the proceeding as formal and official.

§ 10. **suos** : see c. 47. 1 n.

Flaminio : c. 47. 8.

§ 11. **magno natu** : abl. of description : Cicero uses *grandis nata* ; cf. *homo magno natu*, x. 38. 6.

Mandoni. These two brothers had been allies of Carthage since 218 ; they now join the Romans in acknowledgment of Scipio's generosity (xxvii. 17. 3), but revolt shortly after to be again admitted to submission. They revolt again in 205, and are defeated and killed (29. 2-3).

Ilergetum : their territory lay between the Ebro and the Pyrenees.

reguli, 'prince,' used of the son of a king xxx. 36. 8, or the chieftain of a small tribe.

imperatoris : the dative is more usual : e.g. *Caes. B. G. vii. 15 procumbunt Gallis omnibus ad pedes*.

ut . . . commendaret, 'to give very special instructions to the custodians with regard to the care and attention to be shown to the women' : *cultus* from *colo* defines the meaning of *cura* more closely, cf. *cultus corporis*, *Cic. N. D. i. 34. 94*.

§ 12. **profecto**, 'that of course they would want for nothing' ; *nil* = *nil necessarium* : *Pol. x. 18. 7*) has ἤπερ τί λείπει τῶν ἐπιτηδείων αὐταῖς.

magni : gen. of price, originally a locative, *Roby, § 1186*.

ista, 'it is not that we are so concerned for' : *ista* = 'what you speak of,' i. e. *necessaria*. It is more bluntly expressed in *Polybius x. 18. 12*) οὐκ ὀρθῶς, ἔφη. ὦ στρατηγέ, τοὺς ἡμετέρους ἐκδέχῃ λόγους, εἰ νομίζεις ἡμᾶς ὑπὲρ τῆς γαστρὸς δεῖσθαι σου νῦν.

huic fortunae, 'captives like us,' abstract for concrete : *fortuna* is used here in a bad sense.

muliebris : representing an objective genitive, 'the insults a woman has to fear' : cf. *humanus* in c. 19. 9.

stimulat : lit. 'goads me into speaking.'

§ 13. **florentes**, 'in the bloom of youth and beauty' ; cf. *Polyb. x. 18. 13*) ὁ Πόπλιος . . . θεωρῶν ὑπὸ τὴν ὄψιν τὴν ἀκμὴν τῶν Ἀνδοβάλου θυγατέρων. According to *Polybius ix. 11. 1-4*) these girls had been demanded by Hasdrubal son of Gisco as hostages for Indibilis' loyalty when he refused to lend the Carthaginians a large sum of money.

parente, 'as a mother.'

§ 14. **disciplinae**, 'traditions,' lit. 'training' : sometimes used in a political sense : e.g. *rerum publicarum disciplina*, 'traditional form of government,' *Cic. de Rep. 70*.

esset : subj. by attraction into the mood of the surrounding verbs. *Roby, § 1778*.

§ 15. **matronalis** applies to the *puellae* as well as to Mandonius' wife, as *vestra* shows. *Matrona* is sometimes used in the general sense of 'a woman of good position': transl. here 'what is due to your rank and sex': *matronalis* is first employed in prose by Livy.

§ 16. **uiro**: apparently not Flaminius.

uerecunde ac modeste, 'with the same scrupulous respect': for *modeste* cf. c. 48. 11 n.

hospitum, 'family friends.' According to Aulus Gellius (v. 13. 2) one's duty to them came before one's duty to *cognati* and *affines*.

CHAPTER L

§ 1. **Captiua**: predicative, 'as a captive'; the subject is *uirgo*.

forma, 'beauty,' rather a poetical use of the word, but common in Livy.

conuerteret, 'attracted universal attention'; cf. *in quem . . . omnium ora conuersa sunt*, c. 18. 8, and the similar use of *auertere* c. 5. 9 *auerteret etiam pugnantium animos*.

§ 2. **patriam**, 'asking for her native place': *patriam* is the second acc. after *percontatus*, *militēs* being understood. For the double acc. cf. *quae . . . percontari eum magistratus uellent*, xxxix. 49. 12; *meum si quis te percontabitur aeuum*, Hor. *Epp.* i. 20. 26.

desponsam, 'betrothed': *despondere* is the word used of a father who promises his daughter in marriage, e.g. Plaut. *Poen.* 1156 *tuam mihi maiorem filiam despondeas*. For another meaning of the word see c. 7. 7 n.

Allucio: for the case see c. 8. 2 n. Polybius does not mention the name.

§ 3. **cum interim**: usually with the indic. (Madv. § 358. 1); the subj. is due here to the causal notion.

deperire, 'dying for love,' a phrase borrowed from Comedy, where, however, it usually governs an acc. often omitting *amore*, as (e.g.) *illa quam tuos gnatus . . . deperit*, 'whom your son is dying for love of,' Plaut. *Epid.* 219: cf. *praesidii praefectus deperibat amore mulierculae*, xxvii. 15. 9.

ubi primum, 'as soon as ever,' ὡς τάχιστα.

accuratiore, 'in more studied style'—a frequent use of the word in Cicero.

§ 4. **iuuenis**, 'I am speaking to you as one young man to another, that there may be the less reserve between us while we talk this matter over.'

cordi, 'dear to you,' predicative dat.; cf. xxviii. 18. 5: Ter. *Andr.* 328 *tibi nuptiae haec sunt cordi*.

forma, 'her beauty vouched for the fact.'

§ 5. **ludo**: 'indulge in youthful dalliance, and all the more if the attachment were an open and lawful connexion'; cf. Plaut. *Most.* 1058 *scis solere illanc aetatem tali ludo ludere*.

res publica, 'affairs of state claimed my attention': *nostrum* not *meum* is used as Scipio is thinking of his position not as a man, but as an official. *Madv.* § 483.

amanti=*si amarem*.

tuo . . . faueo. 'I indulge in you—where indulgence is possible for me—the claims of love': *cuius possum*=*cuius amori fauere possum*, implying *amori meo fauere non possum*. For *fauo* we should expect *fui* after the secondary tenses preceding, but the use of the present implies that the feeling begun then still continues and takes effect.

§ 6. **fuit**, 'was treated with the same respect': *uerecundia* is abl. of attendant circumstances.

apud me, 'in my power': *apud parentis*, 'in her parents' house.'

§ 7. **sis . . . scias**: the second person present subj. is seldom used in commands except with an indefinite subject; *Roby*, § 1596.

hae gentes, 'the peoples of this land.'

nostri: Cicero has the genitive after *similis* and *dissimilis* much more frequently than the dative; but the difference in case does not seem to imply any difference in meaning: see *Cic. T. D.* i. § 34 with Prof. Dougan's note.

terris, 'the world,' so *ubi terrarum* often.

§ 9. **pudore**, 'overwhelmed at once with shyness and happiness': *pudore* since Scipio had disclaimed any intention to observe *uerecundia sermonis* and had kept his word.

ad, 'to reward his benefactor as he would wish to do himself, since his ability was by no means as great as his gratitude or the kindness he had been shown.'

cognati, 'relations,' they have not been mentioned before.

§ 10. **gratis**, 'without ransom': *gratis* is the abl. of *gratiae* used as an adverb (lit. 'for thanks').

§ 11. **donum**, 'as a gift,' in apposition to *id*.

eius rei: i. e. *doni accepti*, 'they would feel as grateful for his doing so as for his giving back the girl unharmed'; *inviolatae* is subordinate to *reddita*.

§ 12. **poni**: sc. *aurum*.

super=*praeter*, 'in addition to'; cf. *super haec*, c. 21. 16.

dotalia dona, 'a present to be added to the dowry': the plural is used as the ransom was probably not in coin, but in bars or vessels of gold.

sibi habere implies a certain amount of indifference, 'told him he might take the gold and keep it.' Scipio wants to show rather ostentatiously his indifference to gold as well as to other temptations: for *sibi habere* cf. ix. 11. 8 *pacem sibi habeat, legiones captas victori restituit*; *Cic. Luc.* § 18 *qua re sibi habeant sapientiae nomen et inuidiosum et obscurum*.

§ 13. **honoribus**, 'compliments'; cf. xxx. 15. 12 *addit urbis honorem*, 'a complimentary speech.'

impleuit = *impleuit auris popularium*; cf. Val. Flacc. ii. 167 *tum vocat deos, tum questibus implet*.

popularis, 'his fellow-tribesmen,' the Celtiberians (§ 2).

nenisse: acc. and infin. depending on the verb of speaking implied in *impleuit*.

cum . . . tum, 'winning the world less by arms than by kindly thoughts and deeds'; *tum* after *cum* often marks a climax: *omnia* marks the Spaniard's exalted idea of Scipio's greatness.

§ 14. **clientium**, 'his retainers,' he was a *princeps Celtiberorum*.

Livy adopts in this chapter an account of this incident flattering to Scipio: Polybius (x. 19. 3 sqq.) tells a similar, though less picturesque, story of another captive girl. Valerius Antias (*ap.* Aul. Gell. vii. (vi.) 8), relying on some scurrilous verses of Naevius invented, or adopted (*aduersus ceteros omnis scriptores*), a different ending to the story much less creditable to Scipio.

reueritit: this is always the form of the perfect in good writers, not *reuersus est*: *reuerter* is used only in the present and tenses derived from it. Roby, i. p. 263.

CHAPTER LI

§ 1. **ex consilio**, 'to have the advantage of his advice in arranging about': *disponeret* is final subjunctive after *dum*.

§ 2. **captiuis**: sc. *quinqueremibus*: for *captiuis* = *captis* cf. c. 47. 3.

senatoribus. Polybius (x. 18. 1) says that two members of the *γερονσία* and fifteen of the *σύγκλητος* were captured. Livy may be taking the mean between his account and that of some other authority, or may intend *forte* to mark that his number is not quite exact.

nauem: i. e. the quinquereme.

§ 3. **quibus**, 'during which,' the accusative would be more regular in this sense; cf. c. 9. 2.

exercendis, 'in training,' ablative of instrument.

§ 4. **decurrerunt**, 'engaged in evolutions over a space of four miles': *decurrere* is the technical term for soldiers performing manœuvres: for another meaning of the word see c. 18. 4; on the form of the perfect see Roby, i. p. 243.

curare, 'see to and clean,' *tergere* being the more definite word, defining *curare*. Shields when not in use were enclosed in a leather covering (*tegimentum*) to keep them from tarnishing (Caes. B. G. ii. 21).

rudibus, 'foils,' made of wood, with a blunt point: *ξύλιναις ἰσκυνωμέναις μετ' ἐπισφαιρῶν* ('buttons') *μαχαίραις* (Polyb. x. 20. 3).

iustae : cf. c. 46. 7 *iusta acies*.

praepilatis, 'with a button (*pila*) on the point,' ἐσφαλωμένοις γρόσφοις (Polyb.) : for the force of *prae* cf. *prae*fixa, c. 4. 4 n.

quies, 'a rest,' *otium*.

§ 5. **ordinem**, 'alternation' ; cf. *ordine*, *ex ordine* 'in turns,' e. g. Virg. *Ecl.* vii. 20 *hos Corydon, illos referebat in ordine Thyrsis*.

§ 6. **remigium** = *remiges*, as in c. 39. 7.

tranquillo : sc. *maris*, 'in calm weather' ; cf. xxviii. 27. 11 *et tranquillum aut procellae*.

simulacris, 'sham sea-fights' ; cf. Virg. *Aen.* v. 585 *perque simulacra simulacra sub armis*.

experiebantur : this, and the following imperfects denote repeated action.

§ 7. **acuebant** : a zeugma, 'trained their muscles and whetted their courage.'

apparatu, 'preparations for war' : in c. 47. 5 the phrase is concrete, 'munitions of war.'

officina has, apparently, a collective sense : we have *officinis* below : or perhaps the plural may refer to different rooms or departments in the factory.

§ 8. **nauali**, 'the dockyard' : *nauali infirmitas* was the name given at Rome to part of the docks.

operibus : dative after *dabat* : the *opera* are detailed in *quaeque* following.

quaeque . . . quaeque = *et quae . . . et quae* ; cf. xxii. 26. 5 *quique Romanique in exercitu erant* : this use of *quae . . . quae* for *et . . . et* is found only once in Cicero, in the doubtful passage *Tu.* i. 16. 51, where it is, perhaps, a quotation from a poet.

armamentario, 'the arsenal and dockyards' : for *armamentaria* cf. viii. 14. 12 *naues Antiatium partim in navalia Romae subductae*.

in . . . dies, 'day in, day out,' more emphatic than *in diebus* : *omnes dies* denotes that *every* day alike was employed ; cf. *diem de die*.

certamine, 'emulation,' as in c. 44. 11.

With this whole passage compare Xenophon's description of Agesilaus' preparations at Ephesus for his Persian campaign (*Hell.* iii. 4. 16 sqq.).

§ 9. **his**, 'all this being set agoing,' i. e. the exercises of the troops, manufacture of arms, &c.

dispositis : cf. c. 5. 9.

§ 10. **protinus**, 'at once, even during his journey,' *in via* adds emphasis.

aditus : the perf. part. has here practically the force of a present ; cf. *professus*, c. 26. 5 n.

partim : c. 21. 16 n.

ex itinere, 'without stopping.'

distulit, 'put them off till he should reach Tarraco': the accusative *Tarraconem* depends on the idea of 'motion towards,' implied in *distulit*.

quo, 'where he had summoned by proclamation a meeting of the allies': *quo*, not *ubi*, is used since *conuentum* implies motion towards: for *conuentum* see c. 19. 12 n.

nouis: i. e. those who had joined the Romans since his arrival.

cis: see c. 20. 2 n.

ulterioris. Livy is writing from the standpoint of a later time; cf. c. 37. 8 n. *Hispanie*. In Livy's own day Spain had been redivided by Augustus into three provinces Baetica, Tarraconensis and Lusitania.

§ 11. **clarior**, 'too well known to be suppressed.'

eleuabant, 'tried to make light of'; cf. *eleuabatur inde*, c. 27. 8.

§ 12. **furto**, 'as the spoils of a single day's thieving': *prope* qualifies the metaphor (cf. c. 38. 11) which is carried on in *interceptum*, 'stolen'; for *intercipere* cf. Tac. *Ann.* iv. 45 *pecunias e publico interceptas acris . . . cogebat*, 'sums dishonestly kept back from the treasury.'

cuius rei, 'overjoyed with the proceeds of this small success the youth had lost his head, and in the excess of his delight had tried to make the affair appear a notable victory': *praemio* referring back to *furto* is ablative with *elatum*, not dative after *imposuisse*, to which an indirect object (e. g. *rei*) is to be supplied from the context.

funerum, 'the recollection of the deaths in the family would at once come into his mind.' The whole passage is bitterly sarcastic.

§ 14. **in uulgus**, 'for the benefit of the public,' contrasted with *ipsi*.

iactabant, 'threw out sneers': for this sense of the word cf. xxix. 9. 4 *probra in eum ipsam iactata in iurgiis referentes*; Prop. iii. 8. 11 *mulier rabida iactat comicia lingua*.

quantum goes with *uirum*, 'what resources for all contingencies they had lost by the capture of Carthage.' *ad omnia* qualifies the phrase *quantum uirum*.

APPENDIX I

HANNIBAL'S ROUTE FROM CAPUA TO ROME (cc. 7-11).

THE ancient authorities for Hannibal's famous march upon Rome from Capua are hopelessly at variance, both as to the route he followed and the object of his march. Livy's account is strangely confused, and is almost certainly a combination of two distinct versions. Polybius' narrative is explicit enough so far as it goes, but it leaves us altogether in the dark as to the precise route he supposed Hannibal to have taken; Appian is extremely vague; Coelius, like Livy, professes to give a complete itinerary.

To take the question of the line of march first: according to Livy, Hannibal crossed the Volturnus, and marched past Cales along the Latin Way till he reached Labici. Thence, turning to the left, he crossed Mount Algidus to Tusculum, and marched from it to Gabii and so into the *ager Pupiniensis*, where he pitched his first camp. His second camp was pitched at the Anio (c. 10. 3); but we find that when he *crosses the Anio* to offer battle to the Romans, he is between the city and the river (c. 11. 1). Either he must have crossed the Anio before pitching his camp at it—of which Livy does not give a hint—or Livy is following in these passages an account which placed Hannibal's camp on the far side of the river from Rome, and therefore cannot have supposed him to come by the Latin Way, but by some route approaching Rome from the north or north-east. Of such an account Livy is well aware; it is that of Coelius Antipater, our knowledge of which we owe to Livy's candour. Coelius (c. 11. 10) made Hannibal come by a curiously devious route; from Campania into Samnium and the Paeligni, past Sulmo into the Marrucini, then via the territory of Alba to the Marsi, thence to Amiternum and Foruli, Cutiliae and Reate, and so down the *via Salaria*. After giving this route in full, Livy tells us that he fully admits that Hannibal once followed this route; but it was on his return to Capua, not on his march from it.

Polybius' account is contained in ix. 4 sqq., but unfortunately it

avoids detail. According to it, Hannibal marched through Samnium (διὰ τῆς Σαμνίτιδος) and crossed the Anio before the city was aware of his approach, pitching his camp five miles from the walls (ix. 5. 8 and 9). All that we can gather from this is, that Polybius supposed him to have come by a road leading to Rome across the Anio.

Appian (*Hann.* 38 sqq.) tells a very vague story. He marched through 'many hostile nations, some of whom were not able to stop him, while others did not even risk a trial of strength' (διελθὼν ἔθνη πολλά καὶ πολέμια, τῶν μὲν οὐ δυνηθέντων αὐτὸν ἐπισχεῖν, τῶν δὲ οὐδὲ ἐς πείραν ἐλθεῖν ἵπποσάντων), and encamped on the Anio, four miles from the city. The people of Alba sent a detachment to aid the Romans—a statement which implies that Hannibal came by some route in their neighbourhood.

The question of the route followed by Hannibal is closely connected with the question of his intention. Livy says (c. 7. 3 sqq.), that he conceived the idea of attacking Rome, 'an attack he had always wished to make, though it was the common complaint of others that he had let the opportunity for it slip after the battle of Cannae, and he himself could not attempt to conceal it; it was not (he thought) too much to hope that some part at least of the city could be seized in the sudden confusion and dismay; if Rome were in danger, then both the Roman generals would immediately leave Capua alone, or at least one of them would, and, in the event of their dividing their forces, both would be weakened, and give either himself or the people of Capua an opportunity for striking a blow.' He was led to form this design by the impossibility of raising the siege, and the fear that the new consuls would cut off his supplies; he was leaving Capua *inrito incepto*. Clearly Livy regards the Capuans as now left to shift for themselves. Hannibal's attack upon Rome was a serious attempt to storm the city, which would have as a necessary consequence the raising of the siege of Capua by the Romans. Now, if Hannibal without any siege artillery was to carry this plan through successfully, he would require to march secretly and arrive suddenly; no time must be given to the Romans to put the city into a state of defence, or raise fresh troops, or attempt to bar his progress; nothing but *inopinatus pavor ac tumultus* offered any chance of success. Livy makes him neglect every essential; he marches along the most public road with every precaution against secrecy; he takes

ten days to complete his journey, and Livy insists upon these ten days as if they were a necessary part of his plan. It is impossible to believe that Livy had any clear and accurate idea of the whole episode.

Polybius' account (ix. 4. 6 sqq.) is what one expects from Polybius. 'Hannibal coming to the conclusion that it was impossible to raise the siege by an offhand blow (*διὰ τῆς ἐκ χειρὸς βίας*) adopted another plan. He conceived that if he should make a secret march, and appear suddenly in the neighbourhood of Rome, he might perhaps meet with some success even in the neighbourhood of the city (*ὥσως μὲν ἂν καὶ περὶ τὴν πόλιν ἀνίστασθαι τι τῶν χρησιμῶν*, surprising and terrifying the inhabitants: or failing that, he would at least compel Appius and his army to raise the siege in their eagerness to come to the help of their native city, or by dividing the army both the relieving force and those left behind would fall an easy prey.' The opening sentence is perfectly explicit. Hannibal's march was to be a means of raising the blockade of Capua; a success in the neighbourhood of Rome was all that was to be thought of, and even that was subordinate to his main purpose. To secure this, secrecy and dispatch were necessary, and secrecy and dispatch were employed. Hannibal intended the news of Rome's danger to come as a stunning blow upon Appius, frightening him into a frenzied rush to rescue the city before it was too late. He took care that none of the enemy should learn of his departure (*ὥστε μηδεὶς σιτεῖται τῶν πολεμίων τὸ συμβαῖνον*); he marched *χρησάμενος ταῖς πορείαις . . . ἐνερگوῖς καὶ συνεχέσι*: his route was carefully explored to guard against surprise, and he fell upon Rome like a thunderbolt (*τοῦ πράγματος αἰφνιδίον μὲν ὄντος καὶ τελέως ἀνελπίστου*). He had calculated the length of time it would take for the news of his appearance before Rome to reach Appius, and rouse him to the rescue (*συλλογιζόμενος τὰς ἡμέρας ἐν αἷς ἤλπιζε . . . πυθομένους τοὺς περὶ τὸν Ἀππίου . . . παραβοηθήσειν*, c. 7. 2), and disappeared from before Rome when he hoped Appius would be leaving Capua. He failed: but not by deserving failure (as on Livy's showing he would have deserved it), but because Appius did not leave Capua, and the defenders of the city would not let him out of their sight. This is a consistent and intelligible account, and leaves nothing to be desired but the details of the route.

Appian (loc. cit.) declares that Hannibal knew of a famine at Rome when he started, and that he 'hoped either to force the generals to leave Capua, or to accomplish something himself of more importance than Capua' (ἐλπίζων δὲ τοὺς στρατηγούς αἰτῶν ἀπὸ Καπύης ἀναστήσειν ἢ αὐτὸς τι Καπύης μείζον ἐργάσεσθαι). Hannibal, he says, marched with the utmost speed (συντόνῳ σπουδῇ). The most that can be said for this vague statement is that it does not contradict Polybius, while part of it is irreconcilable with Livy's account.

We cannot then be far wrong in preferring the consistent and probable account of Polybius to the vague and contradictory statements of Livy. Two points remain to be considered; the question of the details of Hannibal's march, and the further question of how, supposing it to be erroneous, the account followed by Livy arose.

On the first of these questions, the details given by Coelius are clearly wrong. For Hannibal to have gone from Sulmo to the Marrucini would have served excellently to mystify curiosity as to his objective, but could hardly have served any other purpose. Even if, with Arnold (*Hist. of Rome*, iii. 406), we suppose *Marrucinos* to be a blunder for *Marrubios* (c. II. II), still the route is far too roundabout to be consistent with even a moderate desire to hurry. If he really passed Alba, as Coelius says (and Appian implies), he probably joined the *via Valeria* not far from the town, and marched straight down it to Rome (Mommson, *Rom. Hist.* i. 338 sq.). One slight hint in Livy points in this direction. He says that the Romans, on the news of Hannibal's march, put a garrison in the *arx Aefulana* (c. 9. 9); this would command the *via Valeria*, but would be of no use at all if Hannibal were coming by the *via Latina*; as the statement is thus inconsistent with his own story, he must have found it somewhere and put it in without consideration. It is equally inconsistent, of course, with what seems the true version; if the march of Hannibal and his route were unknown, no garrison could have been put there as Livy says; but the statement at any rate assumes the existence of a tradition that Hannibal did come by the *via Valeria*. How then did Hannibal's march come to be connected with the *via Latina* at all? On this point one can only hazard a conjecture.

There was a shrine of a god Rediculus or Tutanus near the Capene Gate, at which point Hannibal was said to have turned back from his attempt on the city (*Rediculi fanum extra portam Capenam fuit, quia*

accedens ad urbem Hannibal ex eo loco redierit quibusdam perterritus uisis (Paul. Diae. *cre. ex Festo*, p. 283. Müller). So we find in Nonius Marcellus (i. p. 65, ed. Müller):

*Tutanus deus, a tutando. Varro Hercules tuam fidem:
noctu Hannibalis cum fugauit exercitum
tutatus haec, Tutani' Romae nuncupor:
hacpropter omnes, qui laborant, inuocant:*

and Pliny (N. II. x. 43. (60). § 122) says there was a *Rediali campus* on the right of the *via Appia* at the second milestone. This was probably some very ancient shrine of a *lar* or *tutela* of Rome, and its connexion with Hannibal was later. The ascription of the preservation of Rome to its influence need not imply the further statement of Festus, that it was so called because Hannibal turned back at that point. His Numidian cavalry *may* have come nearest to the town at this point, and have been frightened away by portents. Whatever the truth on this point may be, it is evident that Tutanus was early credited with having driven back Hannibal. If his shrine stood near the Capene Gate, it would readily give rise to the legend that it was at that gate that Hannibal's assault was made: and from this there was only one step to the inference that he had come by one of the roads that entered Rome at this point.

APPENDIX II

NEW CARTHAGE.

THE descriptions of the site of New Carthage given by Livy (xxvi. 42. 6 sqq.) and Polybius (x. 10), whatever difficulty there may be in reconciling them with known facts, are, at any rate, precise in themselves and consistent with each other. Each mentions something omitted by the other, but the two accounts rest evidently in the last resort upon a common authority. A combination of the data furnished by them both gives us the following account of the site.

New Carthage is built upon a hilly peninsula, which projects into a bay extending inland about two miles and a half from the mouth; the entrance of this bay faces south-west, and is protected from all winds with the exception of that blowing from the mouth past a small island, which closes the entrance except for a narrow passage

at each side. The peninsula is connected with the mainland by an isthmus to the north, and is surrounded by the sea on the east and south. There is another isthmus to the south, separating the sea from a lake which extends round to the west and north, where it is again separated from the sea by the northern isthmus. The isthmus on the south had been cut through for the convenience of fishermen, thus connecting the sea and the lake; and across the centre of this canal there was a bridge. The peninsula itself consisted of five hills, and on these hills and in the valley between them lay the town. The hill of Asklepios, and that crowned by the citadel, lay respectively to the east and west; they are the modern Mt. Concepcion and Mt. Molinete. The other three hills were much lower and smaller, and lay to the north in a kind of semicircle; they were the hill of Hephaistos (modern Castillo de Despeña Perros), the hill of Aletes (Mt. S. José), and the hill of Kronos (Mt. Sacro); of these three, the first fronted the northern isthmus, while the others lay to the west of it. Near the northern isthmus on the mainland was a hill, the *tumulus Mercurii* (modern Castillo de los Moros).

This description has been subjected by some modern authorities¹ to a very severe examination. The net result of their investigations is briefly this: the orientation of the site as given by Livy and Polybius is hopelessly wrong; the island (Escombrera) which is supposed to close the mouth of the bay, does as a matter of fact nothing of the kind, and the wind blowing from its direction is not the south-west but the south-south-east; and the three smaller and lower hills are, as a matter of fact, not so very much lower than the others.

Droysen solves the difficulty in part by supposing that Polybius made a sketch on the spot, but forgot to put in the points of the compass, and made a mistake in putting them in afterwards. Strachan-Davidson supposes that he was led astray by taking the north by the position of the Pole Star, which in 156 B.C. was 12° away from the true north. On Droysen's hypothesis, Polybius was 90° out of the true reckoning; Strachan-Davidson makes his error

¹ Droysen, *Rheinisches Museum*, xxx. pp. 62 ff.; Strachan-Davidson, *Selections from Polybius*, pp. 629-641; and Otto Cuntz, *Polybius und sein Werk*, pp. 8-20 (Teubner, 1902).

only 45°. Cuntz points out that neither solution accounts for the fact that while the positions of the hills are hopelessly wrong in Polybius, he gives the direction of the mouth of the harbour with something approaching precision. He also points out that Polybius in this passage makes use of only the four cardinal points of the compass, while elsewhere he reckons by intermediate points as well, that he is particularly careful as a general rule in doing so, and knew quite well the declination of the Pole Star from the true north. With regard to the position of Escombrera, there is one point in the harbour from which an observer stationed in a boat might suppose that the island closed the mouth of the harbour, but from no other point could such a mistake be made. Lastly, Droysen and Strachan-Davidson do not explain the cause of Polybius' error about the height of the hills.

Cuntz tries to prove that previous investigators took for granted that Polybius had inspected the site personally, relying upon what seems a definite statement of the historian: he says (x. 11. 4), ὁ δὲ περίβολος τῆς πόλεως οὐ πλείον ἐκκοσι σταδίων ἐπῆρχε τὸ πρότερον. καίτοι γ' οὐκ ἀγνοῶ, διότι πολλοῖς εἴρηται τετταράκοντα· τὸ δ' ἐστὶ ψεῖδος· οὐ γὰρ ἐξ ἀκοῆς ἡμεῖς ἀλλ' αἰτόπται γεγονότες μετ' ἐπιστάσεως ἀποφαιρόμεθα. The claim to credit as an eyewitness (Cuntz argues) extends only to the statements with regard to measurements, and this sentence belongs only to a second edition of the *Histories*, forming no part of the original work, the first fifteen books of which were published before 150 B. C., while this sentence was added after 133 B. C. If this be so (and the arguments adduced by Cuntz seem very strong) the description given by Polybius was copied from some, presumably, Greek source which paid little attention to topographical accuracy; that this was a besetting sin of Polybius' predecessors we know from his frequent complaints. Livy got his description in all probability from some Roman source which had made use of Polybius' narrative.

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